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THE KHAŚA KINGDOM

A Trans-Himalayan Empire of the Middle Age

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SURYA MANI ADHIKARY

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Born Nov 21, 1948 at Bahunpokhara, Tanahun, West Nepal, SURYA MANI ADHIKARY is Nepal's eminent historian today. He was educated mainly at Tribhuvan University where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in 1984. He has lectured at various campuses of Tribhuvan University and at present is working as Associate Professor and Campus Chief at Birendra Campus of Tribhuvan University, Bharatpur, Chitwan.

His first book, *Paścima Nepālko Aithāsika Anveṣaṇa* (A research on the history of Western Nepal) has been published by the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, T. U., Kathmandu. Dr. Adhikary is known for his speculative use of murals, inscriptions and art objects to explore the truths of his field study. He has published several articles in the reputed journals and periodicals at

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SURYA MANI ADHIKARY

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His new book on the socio-cultural heritage of the natives of Chitwan valley will appear from Kathmandu soon.

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Transliteration

अ = a	क = ka	ढ = ḍha	र = ra
आ = ā	ख = kha	ण = ṇa	ल = la
इ = i	ग = ga	त = ta	व = va
ई = ī	घ = gha	थ = tha	श = śa
उ = u	ङ = ṅa	द = da	ष = ṣa
ऊ = ū	च = cha	ध = dha	स = sa
ऋ = ri	छ = chha	न = na	ह = ha
ए = e	ज = ja	प = pa	क्ष = kṣa
ऐ = ai	झ = jha	फ = pha	त्र = tra
ओ = o	ञ = ña	ब = ba	ज्ञ = jña
औ = au	ट = ṭa	भ = bha	
अं = aṁ	ठ = ṭha	म = ma	
अः = aḥ	ड = ḍa	य = ya	

Note—The modern geographical names are usually written without any diacritical marks.

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INTRODUCTION

During the early medieval period the Khaśas were the masters of a big territory known as *Khaśadeśa,* the Khaśa Kingdom (Appendix B-4). Their kingdom comprised Western Nepal, South-western Tibet, Kumaon and Garhwal. Sinja and Dullu of Far-Western Nepal were then the twin governmental headquarters of the Khaśa Kingdom. The history of the Khaśa Kingdom is not only the history of a great political power, it also constitutes the background of the present Nepalese *Pahāḍī* socio–cultural set-up.

The history of the Khaśa Kingdom was unknown to us before Giuseppe Tucci and Yogi Naraharinath, independently of each other, initiated explorations and published records. Tucci's *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome : 1956) bears great importance since it discloses the Khaśa rulers' hold over South-western Tibet. Yogi Naraharinath made explorations in the whole Karnali region, collected many useful documents and published them in *Itihāsa Prakāśa,* Vol. I (Kathmandu : 1955-56) and *Samdhipatra Samgraha,* Vol. I (Kathmandu : 1965). Since then, some historians, Surya Bikram Gyewali, Ram Niwas Pandey, Dhanabajra Bajracharya Satya Mohan Joshi, Mohan Bahadur Malla and Luciano Petech have dealt briefly with the political history of the Khaśa Kingdom. On the art and architecture of the Karnali Basin, the work of P. R. Sharma, though short and preliminary, can be regarded the first scholarly work of its kind.[1] However, a detailed and comprehensive study covering the multiple aspects of the Khaśa history is still laking. The present work, therefore, is designed to deal with the subject accordingly.

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INTRODUCTION

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In additions to the materials brought to light by G. Tucci and Yogi Naraharinath, some new materials have been published by Mohan Prasad Khanal, Raja Ram Subedi and Archaeology Department of His Majesty's Government of Nepal recently. In the winters of 1979 and 1985 the author of the present study travelled through the districts of the Karnali region such as Dang, Pyuthan, Rolpa, Jajarkot, Dailekh, Jumla, Mugu, Kalikot, Surkhet, Achham, Banke, Bardia, and Kailali confronting the turmoils of the snow-clad mountains, unbridged rivers and wildernesses. In the course of the field-study districts like Jumla, Dailekh and Achham were found rich for origional materials shedding light on the history of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Nature of Sources

Inscriptions-There are many stone pillars commonly found all over the Karnali region, especially on the roadsides and places of pilgrimages. Almost all the pillars contain inscriptions. The pillars being of sandstone are rough. Due to rain, strom and snowfalls of many centuries letters of more than ninety percent stone pillars are illegible. The stone inscriptions, except the pillar inscription of Dullu, are small containing some lines of letters. Only the Dullu pillar inscription (Fig. 11) is the source of considerable importance which provides a genealogy of the Khaśa Malla rulers and indicates some important events. (Fig. 11) Almost all the copper plate and *Kanakpatra* (gold plate) inscriptions are related to land grants. Their chief merit lies in solving some chronological problems. Names and dates of the kings along with some references to the administrative, social and economic conditions are to be found in them. All the inscriptions are given in Appendix B.

Chronicles—Chronicles of the Khaśa rulers written in Tibetan language are available in the monasteries of Western Tibet. They are published by G. Tucci, A. H. Francke and S. C. Das.[2] They almost completely tally with the list of the Khaśa rulers provided by the pillar inscripition of Dullu.[3]

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The Tibetan chronicles mention the names of the Khaśa rulers as the kings of Guge and Purang of South-Western Tibet. Another chronicle known as *Gopāla Rājā Vaṃśāvali* mentions about the Khaśa invasions of the Nepal Valley.[4] The chronicles of the Bāisī Ṭhakurī principalities also contain some references useful to this study. But the Bāisī chronicles are more fictitious and one should have to be more careful to distinguish facts from fables.

Archaeological Remains—Images, temples and ruins are the important tools to study the history of mankind. Many Buddhist and secular sculptures and structures of the period are found in the forlorn archaeological sites of the Karnali region. Some monuments have fallen, some are in mutilated conditions and the images are fast disappearing. If the scientific excavations are made in the archaeological centres such as in the valley of Sinja, Jumla and Surkhet, and the villages of Vinayak (Achham) and Dullu and its adjoining areas, there is probability of the discovery of new materials.

Literary Evidence—The *Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Rājatarańgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and other books of Saṅskrit literature contain frequent references to the ancient Khaśas. Further references are to be found in the accounts of Pliny (79 A. D.) and Ptolemy (151 A. D.).[5] We get some knowledge about the Khaśas and their language from the medieval inscriptions of Kumaon and the Nepal valley.[6]

Hence, the inscriptions which are given in Appendix B, the chronicles, the archaeological remains of the Karnali region and fragmentary references to the Khaśas in the Saṅskrit literature are the main sources of this study. The present work, therefore, concentrates mainly on primary documents. But since these sources are inadquate to shed abundant light on the study, the author has taken into account even a word or a phrase which could provide some new clue to issues of arguement for analysis. Above all, the works on contemporary

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history of Kumaon, Tibet and the Nepal valley have also been examined.

The Khaśa rulers had occupied a vast territory. There were many vassal states within the domain of the Khaśa Kingdom. The vassal chiefs were left to run the administration of their respective areas. Since the direct rule of the central government was confined to the Karnali region only, most of the sources of information are found from the Karnali region. Hence, in the present study the chapters on administrative system, society, culture, economic conditions, art and architecture would present the historical account mainly of the Karnali region only.

Geography of Western Nepal

The kingdom of Nepal comprises three principal river systems: the Koshi in the eastern region, the Gandaki in the central region and the Karnali in the western region. Each of these regions is named after the river system by which it is drained. Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, lies in the historic valley situated between the Koshi and the Gandaki regions. Therefore, the Gandaki and the Karnali regions, lying to the west of Kathmandu valley are known as Western Nepal. Topographically, Western Nepal can be divided into three major divisions from north to south : the Himalayan region, the hill-region and the Tarai.

The Himalayan region is largely an arctic zone. It consists of snowy mountains and glacial valleys. The districts of Manang, Mustang, Dolpa, Mugu and Humla lie wholly north of the main Himalayan range. Some human habitations exist in the high mountain valleys of there districts with an alpine climate. The Himalayan people grow dry crops and depend mainly upon animal husbandry and trade. The inhabitants are largely of Tibetan origin.

The hill region is the heart of the country. It is a complex of hills and river valleys situated to the south of the

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Himalayan range with temporate climate suitable for agriculture. Exclusive settlements of Guruṅgs and Magars of Mongoloid strain, and Brāhmaṇas Ṭhakurīs and Chhetrīs of Khas-Āryan origin, and a few other miscellaneous minorities exist in this region. The Nepālī speaking Brāhmaṇas, Ṭhakurīs and Chhetrīs of hills are collectively termed as 'Pahāḍī Caste Groups' throughout this study.

The Tarai region is situated between the Indian frontier in the south and foothills in the north. It is a belt of alluvial plain. It has hot and humid climate. As the Tarai provided opportunities for land reclamation and settlement after the eradication of malaria, many people of hills have migrated in this region recently. The aborigional Thārus, Indian immigrants and hill immigrants live in this region.

The great rivers of Western Nepal, the Gandaki and the Karnali have their origin in the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas. They sweep down southwards cutting the deep gorges through the Himalayas and hills, and joined by hundreds of tributaries in their courses, they meet the Ganges in the Indian plain. There are some trans-Himalayan routes connecting Western Tibet with India through Western Nepal. The most important one passes along the course of the Karnali river. It leads through the Tarai, Dullu and Sinja. From Sinja it leads further north through Khojarnāth, Kailāsh and reaches the mainland of Tibet. During the heydays of the Khaśa Kingdom, this road was made wide and got the shape of a highway. Inns and water-receptacles were made along the roadsides for the convenience of travellers. Among them, the water receptacle of Pātharnāulī of Dullu (Fig. 15) made by chief-minister Devavarmā in 1334 (App. B 23) and a stone masonary (inn) of Hāuḍi are still in use. From the early period it was the main caravan route to conduct trade with Tibet and India. It was frequently traversed by the Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims as well. Another important route connects Doti and Kumaon with Western Tibet through

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Ṭiṅkar pass and Tāklākhār. In the northern frontiers of Western Nepal these routes pass through the passes provided by the high Himalayan mountain range. These passes become frozen during the winter. Only in the summer they provide access to Tibet in spite of the barriers posed by high ranges, swollen rivers and sheer ruggedness of the terrain. Trade was carried and ideas were exchanged through these routes from the historic times.

Population and Settlement

The population of Western Nepal can broadly be categorised variously. Racially, there are two great races of mankind: Āryan and Mongoloid. On linguistic ground, they can again be classified into two groups: those who speak Indo-Āryan languages such as Nepāḷī, Bhojpurī, Abadhī and Thāru, and the others who speak Tibeto-Burman languages like Tibetan, Magar, Guruṅg and Newārī. On regional basis, there are Himalayan people, hill and valley people and the Tarai people. Religiously, the Himalayan people are almost Buddists, midland or hill and valley people are mostly Hindus, and the Tarai people too Hindus with an exception of the Muslim population in minority. The midland region is the contact zone of the Āryan and Mongoloid people. It's here that the Hindu and Buddhist civilisations merge. Magars and Guruṅgs, both of Mangoloid strain, are the early settlers of this region. They ruled over the country before the Khas-Āryan infiltration from the west and the south.

The Magars were the first to receive the Khaśas in Western Nepal. As they have family surnames such as Thāpā, Rānā and Buḍhathokī, it seems that they had closest association with the Khaśas and occupied important designations in the military administration of the Khaśa Kingdom. Other surnames of Magars, Siṅjālī and Siṅjapati show their historic relations with Siṅjā, the capital of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The Hindu people of Khas-Āryan origin, such as

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Brāhmaṇas, Ṭhakurīs and Chhetrīs who are widely distributed throughout the hills and valleys of midlands, are regarded as the Pahāḍī caste groups. Their mother tongue, Nepālī, is largely influenced by the Saṅskrit language. Some other people like Matwālī-Chhetrīs, Sanyāsīs and Shūdras who speak Nepālī as mother tongue are in minority. According to census report of 1971, nearly 72.25 percent of the total population of Western Nepal speak Nepālī. Therefore, the Nepālī speaking Pahāḍī caste groups form the dominating bulk of the society. The traditional name of the Nepālī was *Khas-Kurā*, the language of the Khaśas.

A sub-caste among Brāhmaṇas is known as Jaisī. The term Jaisī appears to be the perverted form of *Jyotiṣī* (Jyotiṣī-Joisī-Jaisī), the meaning of which is astrologer (App. B-26). Later on, the offsprings of irregular unions of Brāhmaṇa men and women have also been included in this sub-caste. Ṭhakurīs and Chhetrīs belong to the Kṣatriya caste. Ṭhakurīs are the descendants of the Bāisī and Chaubisī chiefs of the late medieval period. The rulers and feudal lords of that period were addressed as Ṭhākurs.[7] Present Ṭhakurīs have family surnames such as Pāla, Malla, Bam, Chand, Shāhī, Shāh, Siṁha and Hamāl. Chhetrīs can be categorised into two groups, Khas-Chhetrīs and Khatrī-Chhetrīs. The Khaśas who upgraded themslves into "the lofty rank and honour" of the Kṣatriya order, took the sacred thread and abondoned the unorthodox habits are called Khas-Chhetrīs. But they did not abandon their former family surnames like Thāpā, Khaḍgā, Basnet and Buḍhāthokī. The children of the Brāhmaṇas with their Chhetrī, Khas or Mongolodi wives became Khatrī-Chhetrī. Brāhmaṇas, Ṭhakurīs and Chhetrīs are called *Tāgādhārī*, twice born Hindu castes. They wear *Yajñopavita*, the sacred thread, and are not allowed by traditions to consume chicken and alcohol.

The Pābai-Khas who are known as Matwāli-Chhetrīs are very interesting people. They live in the hills of the Karnali

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region. Particularly, the districts of Jumla, Bajhang and Jajarkot have large settlements of them. In Jumla, the Matwāli-Chhetrīs are called Pābai-Khas, the Khaśas living in unirrigated lands. Although they adhere to adopt the title 'Chhetrī', they wear no sacred thread and consume chicken (*meat*) and alcohol. They have family surnames identical with Tāgādhārī-Chhetrīs such as Thāpā, Khaḍgā, Basnet, Mahatārā, Rokāyā, Buḍhā and Boharā. Their mother tongue is Nepālī. (Fig. 8) Though their customs and traditions have been influenced by Hinduism, they do not need any Brāhmṇa priest. The unconverted Matwāli-Chhetrīs or Pābai-Khasas of the remote hills of Far-Western Nepal are the pure remnants of the ancient Khaśas.

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THE KHAŚAS

CHAPTER ONE

During the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Aśoka-challa of Western Nepal was known as the kingdom of the Khaśas (App. B-4). The successors of Aśokachalla were stated as the Khaśiyā Rājās by the Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvlī (chronicle) of the Nepal Valley. In the late medieval period, the hill region of the Jumlā Kingdom was known as *Khāsān*, the area of the Khaśa settlement.[1] Thus the Khaśas seem to be the dominating bulk of the society of Western Nepal from the early period.

Khaśa Settlements in Ancient India

The consensus of opinion is that the Khaśas were a branch of thr great Āryan stock and their ancestral home, as that of their Vedic-Āryan predecessors, was somewhere in central Asia. No reference to the Khaśas is found in the Vedic literature (3,000 B. C.-1,000 B. C.). But the *Mahābhārata* and other books of Saṅskrit literature (1,000 B.C.-1,000 A.D.) have frequently refered to them. Therefore, it appears that the Khaśas were non-Vedic Āryans who had entered the Indian sub-continent from the north-west around the beginning of the first millennium B. C.

The *Mahābhārata* (2:52:2,3) mentions that the Khaśas were dwelling in the banks of the river Śailodā flowing between the Meru and Mandarā mountains. Another passage from *Mahābhārata* (2:44:6,7) clearly locates them as the inhabitants of the region where the Sindhu (Indus) and its tributaries issue from the hills. In the same way, the Khaśas are

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mentioned in the 'Karṇa-parva' of *Mahābhārata* (44:41) as living in Punjab, between the Āraṭṭâs and Vasâti. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57:56) they were the inhabitants of the mountains. The Saṅskrit literature has grouped them among the tribes dwelling in the north-western mountainous region of the Indian sub-continent.[2] The principal tribes thus mentioned with the Khaśas were the Taṅgaṇas, Kulindas, Daradas, Kirātas, Śakas, Tukhāras and Chīnas.

References to the Khaśas and their country is also to be found in the writings of Roman and Greek geographers, Pliny (79 A. D.) and Ptolemy (151 A. D.). Pliny writes, "The mountain races between the Indus and the Jomanes are the Cesi, the Catriboni who dwell in the forest."[3] According to Atkinson, the Cesi and Catriboni correspond with the Khaśas and Kṣatriyas.[4] Ptolemy informs that the country of the Khaśas (Khaśiā Region) was situated near the trans-Himalayan tract of North-Western India.[5]

Kalhaṇa's famous chronicle of Kashmir, the Rājataraṅgiṇī, composed in the middle of the twelfth century, gives many references to the Khaśas. Somarāja and Siṁharāja, the rajas of Kashmir were known as Khaśarājās.[6] The notorious queen Diddā was the daughter of Siṁharāja. She was married by Kṣemagupta, a Kashmirian king of the eleventh century. After her husband's demise she became the all powerful queen of Kashmir. A Khaśa named Tuṅga from the territory of Parṇotśa rose from the position of a cowherd to that of queen Diddā's powerful minister.[7]

In the copper plate grants of Lalitāshūr (835 A. D.), Padmaṭdev (945 A. D.) and Suvikṣarāj (cir. 980 A. D.) the Khaśas are mentioned as the principal subjects of the Kumaon Kingdom.[8] It appears that during the rule of Katūrīs, the Khaśas formed the dominating bulk of the society of Kumaon. Therefore, Kedārkhaṇḍa (Kumaon and Garhwal) had been the synonymous of the Kaśamaṇḍal *(Kedāre Khaśamaṇḍale)*.[9] The name of the places and mountains such as Khāsger, the

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Hindukush, Kashmir (Khaśamihir), Khaśadeśa, Khaśmaṇḍal, Khaśālā and Khasān were given after them.

Thus, the Khaśas were the chief inhabitants of the north-western mountainous region of Indian sub-continent from the very early period. It appears that the first Khaśa group arrived in Western Nepal around the middle of the first millennium A. D.. During the early medieval period they had occupied a vast territory which was known as *Khaśadeśa* and its capitals were Sinja and Dullu of Far-Western Nepal.

Khaśa as a Warlike Tribe

The Khaśas were well known warriors. They had taken part in the war of Mahābhārata against the Pāṇḍavas. Dūryodhana, the Mahābhārata hero, was proud of his army that consisted of the Khaśa warriors.[10] They fought the war Mahābhārata wih iron balls, tridents, bows and arrows.[11] *Harivaṁsa* (2:85:18,19) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (9:20:30) also speak of their bravery. Viśākhadutta (sixth century) mentions that king Malayaketu wanted the warriors of Khaśa and Magadha countries to be in the forefront at the time of his attack on Chandraketu.[12] Kalhana in his *Rajātaraṅgiṇi* (7:979;8:887,1895) states that the Khaśas were rough, violent and turbulent people. In Western Nepal, during the thirteenth century, the Khaśa ruler Aśokachalla was a well known conqueror. The soldiers of his '*sarvagāmīnivāhinī*' were recruited mainly from the Khaśa community.

Khaśas in the Hindu Caste System

In many Hindu writings, the Khaśas are looked upon as the unorthodox members of the great Āryan family. Though the Khaśas did not strictly follow the caste rules, most of them gradually adopted the Hindu caste system. In the matter of religion and castes they were not as conservative as the Āryans of Indian plains. Looking from the Brāhmaṇical point of view,

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Karṇa in Mahābhārata despised the Khaśas of the Bāhika country (Punjab area) in the following words :

> They are impure and have no religion. The Brāhmaṇas of that locality have no knowledge of the Vedas and altars for sacrifices.
>
> * * * * *
>
> A Bāhika (Khaśa) born a Brāhmaṇa becomes afterwards a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śudra and even a barbar. After being a barbar he becomes a Brāhmaṇa or a slave.[13]

On the other hand, Manu, the Hindu law giver of the second century B. C., classified that the Khaśas were the offsprings of the outcaste Kṣatriyas. In another passage, he described that the Kṣatriya people like Khaśas became degraded due to their non-observance of the Brāhmanical rituals.[14]

It appears that before Manu made regulations governing caste rules, the caste system was not so rigid. Many Khaśas of the priest class engaged themselves in religious activities became Brāhmaṇas during the early period. Some other became Kṣatriyas in course of time.

The Descendants of the Ancient Khaśas in Western Nepal

As noted earlier, the Khaśas had reached Western Nepal around the fifth century. The Khaśa influx into this country continued even in the subsequent centuries. It appears that the hills and valleys of the Karnali region were occupied by them even before the establishment of the Khaśa Kingdom in the twelfth century. The Khaśas dominated the society and politics of Western Nepal during the early medieval period.

It has been mentioned above that the Pahāḍi caste groups of Western Nepal are the admixture of the Khaśas and Indo-Āryan people, and the greater degree of admixture was due to the Khaśa stock. This assumption is being examined at length here on the following grounds.[15]

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1. As noted previously, the Khaśas of the priest class who were engaged in religious activities and studies became Brāhmaṇas during the early period. Some others became Kṣatriyas in course of time. According to *Mahābhārata* (8:44:45,46,47; 8:45:6,7) the Bāhikas (the Khaśas) had adopted the Hindu caste system by the time of the composition of this work (1,000 B. C.–300 B. C.).

2. The Khaśa language has been the mother tongue of the Pahāḍi caste groups for the ages.

3. The family surnames of the Pahāḍi caste groups, especially of Brāhmaṇas and Chhetrīs of Nepal seem to have been derived from the religious and govermental titles in the court of the Khaśa Kingdom or from the names of the villages of the Karnali region and Kumaon. Many of such titles (App. D) are not found among the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas of Indian plains.

4. Unlike the Hindus of Indian plains, the Pahāḍī castes have no Vaiśya caste. It seems that the Khaśas aspired to be the Brāhamaṇas, Ṭhakurīs or Chhetrīs as the Vaiśyas were not considered superior to them.

5. In the Pahāḍī Brāhmaṇa society widow and intercaste marriage is traditionally recognised. Such customs are absent in the Brāhmaṇa society of the Indian plains.

6. The Matwālī–Chhetrīs of Far-Western Nepalese hills are considered to be the pure remnants of the ancient Khaśas. They and the people of the Pahāḍī caste groups have some remarkable similarities.

(a) Matwālī-Chhetrīs and the people of the Pahāḍī caste groups have similar features–narrow faces, long, prominent noses and deep, set eyes.

(b) Both speak the Khaśa language as their mother tongue.

(c) Both of them have the same family deity, *Maṣṭo*, which is worshipped by sacrificing animals like goat and sheep.

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But the rituals of the Brāhmaṇas of Indian plains are predominantly non-sacrificial.

(d) The Matwālī-Chhetrīs or the Pābai-Khaśas have the family surnames identical with the Tāgādhāri-Chhetrīs. They are Airī, Basnet, Bhaṇḍārī, Boharā, Buḍhā, Mahatārā, Rāut, Rāul, Thāpā Budhāthāpā and Buḍhāthokī. Some of them like Boharā and Bhaṇḍārī are also identical with the Pahāḍī Brāhmaṇas.

7. Pahāḍī Brāhmaṇas and Ṭhakurīs claim that their ancestors had fled from the Indian plains to this mountainous region during the Muslim oppression in India at the late medieval period. But no source confirms their claim. Moreover, it is a well known fact that there was the existence of Brāhmaṇas, and Ṭhakurīs (Pālas and Mallas) even before the first Muslim invasion of India.

8. In chapter II, it will be mentioned that many of the Bāisī Ṭhakurī chiefs were the descendants of the Khaśa-Malla rulers of Sinja. According to Dor Bahadur Bista:

> Thakuris are the aristocracy among the Chhetris and as such have the highest social, political and ritual status. If the average ambitious Khas, and later on Magars aspired to be Chhetris, the most powerful ones became Thekuris during the medieval period. So at present Thakuri is a generic term describing a group that developed into the the highest social and political order out of the select people from among the Khas, Magar and probably a few Rajput immigrants from India.[16].

9. Kumaon and Western Nepal have close cultural affinities. The Khaśas had entered Western Nepal from Kumaon. On the anthropological study of the Kumaon hills, Ram P. Srivastava writes:

> At some points in their history, the Khasiyas themselves split into Brahmana and Rajput divisions. However, the immigrants considered themselves to be the 'real' Brahmanas and Rajputs, whereas the

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> Khasiyas pitted their own Brahmana and Rajput divisions against the former for status equivalance.[17]

Atkinson recorded about 250 septs of Khaśiyā Brāhmaṇas and about 280 septs of Khaśiyā Rajputs in Kumaon.[18]

10. A practice of upgrading the Khaśa to that of the Tāgādhārī-Chhetrī caste is found recorded in a document of late sixteenth century issued by a Kalyāl King, Gaganirāja of Jumla.[19] This practice is common in Far-Western Nepal even at present where a Brāhmaṇa priest can confer the sacred thread on the Khaśas who aspires to be promoted.

Therefore, it bacomes clear that many of the Khaśas converted themselves into Brāhmaṇas, Thakurīs or Chhetrīs. The Pahāḍī caste groups of Western Nepal owe largely their origin to the Khaśa stock. The Brāhmaṇa and the Rajput immigrants from the plains of India, who preceded or followed the Khaśas to come to this country, have been assimilated in equal status of the Pahāḍī caste hierarchy. Western Nepal was largely inhabited by the Mongoloid people-Guruṅgs and Magars-before the Khasa influx. The Khasas were the people who set the stage for the eventual Pahāḍī caste domination of the country.

Nāgarāja : a Khaśa Chief

It will be discussed in the chapter II that Nāgarāja founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal around the beginning of the twelfth century. Tibetan chronicles insert the name of Nāgarāja in the lineage of the lDe family descended from the kings of Lhasa. They mention Nāgarāja and his successors as the kings of Western Tibet.[20] The Dullu pillar inscription also states that Nāgarāja had come from Khāripradesh of Tibet (App. B·27). Thus it may be argued that Nāgarāja was a Tibetan by origin. But to me this proposition does not appear convincing.

Although the Tibetan chronicles insert the name of Nāgarāja in the lineage of ruling lDe family of Lhasa, however they denote a change in succession. G. Tucci writes:

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> After aBar lde PT says: "Then in succession bKrasisIde, Lha lde, Nāgadeva (Nāgarāja) became generally (pall c'er) master of mNaris": after aBha lde GR states: then in succession bKrasis lde, Bha re, Naga lde became master of Guge, Purang, Mar, yul etc". as to show that there was a change.[21]

The Saṅskritised name Nāgadeva itself denotes the change in succession. If Nāgadeva were of the Tibetan origin, his name would not have been Saṅskritised. Nāgarāja and his successors would not have spoken the Khaśa language. The 'illa' suffix or 'challa' title which are associated with the names of Nāgarāja's successors like Chāpilla and Krāchalla are not of the Tibetan origin. Names like Sāhilla and Chāvilla which have 'illa' suffix occur in the contemporary records of Kashmir.[22]

To state Aśokachalla, a successor of Nāgarāja, 'sprung from the family of Gauḍa' (App. B-2) seems to be incorrect because Asokachalla of Western Nepal could not be the descendant of family of Gauḍa (Far-Eastern India). Other sources too do not confirm this claim. However, it can be argued that his mother might have been the daughter of the reputed Pāla family of Gauḍa. The Kṣatriyas of Indo-Āryan origin have claimed that they are the descendants of Sūrya, Chandra, Agni or Prahlāda but Nāgarāja and his successors do not claim as such. Then, undisputably Nāgarāja must be a chief of the Khaśa tribe. On the contemporary history of Kumaon, K. P. Nautiyal writes:

> The folk-lore and tradition show that the Katūrīs were a small Khaśa tribe, flourishing in the valley of Alakanandā... The Khaśas played an interesting role in the history of the entire hill region of northern India. Many independent dynasties ruling in the early medieval period in these parts of India seemed to have offshooted from the Khaśa stock. And it seems very likely that the Katūrīs also, as an extension of the Khaśa tribe, proved to be the first historical dynasty of Kumaon.[23]

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The Katūrī rule was established in Kumaon sometime around the last quarter of the seventh century and it lasted up to the end of the tenth century. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Chand Rajputs from the plains of India came and established their rule in Kumaon.[24] But the Chand rulers and local Khaśa chiefs were not in good terms. This also contributed to the wide diffusion of the Khaśas of Kumaon.

After the assassination of Lang Darma in B42, Tibet fell into a great disorder. It led to a schism in the royal lineage of Lhasa which caused the disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom. On the history of Tibet, Tsepon Shakabpa writes :

> The dates 842 and 1247 therefore marked the period of decentralised control in central Tibet, during which time the country consisted of many small hegemonies, which were constantly warring against, or allying with each other as conditions warranted.[25]

Probably, due to this disturbance in Tibet, the Khaśas of Kumaon and adjacent areas found themselves at ease to move towards Western Tibet. The Khaśas who reached Tibet, adopted Buddhism and their names and habits were also Tibetanised. The Khaśa chieftains emerged as the sovereigns of South-Western Tibet. Their adoption of Buddhism enabled them to have setimental attachment with their Tibetan subjects. Tibetan chronicles notice that Nāgarāja[26] and Devarāja were the two brothers who had been Buddhist monks.[27]

After the establishment of their hold in South-Western Tibet, the Khaśas, under the leadership of Nāgarāja, went Jumla and established the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal.

The Dullu pillar inscription states that Pālas who were the feudatories of the Khaśa Kingdom were the members of the Ādityavaṁśa, but it does not offer any information about the dynasty of the ruling kings (App. B-27). Prithvīmalla, in this inscription, does not say anything abount the origin of the

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Nāgarāja dynasty. Probably, he did not address his maternal predecessors[28] as the Khaśas because the Khaśas were considered outcaste people since the ages.

Sahaṇapāla himself boasts of being 'the lamp of Kṣatriya kula' but he does not mention his master Aśokachalla as a Kṣatriyas. In the plains of India where the Khaśas were looked upon as outcastes and barbarians, Sahaṇapāla and Puruṣottamasiṁha did not address their master directly as a Khaśa, though an indirect reference is made to Aśokachalla as a Khaśa king that he was the great ruler of the *Khaśadeśa*.[29]

The *Godala Rāja Vaṁśāvalī* written during the time of Jayasthitimalla (1380–1395) apparently authenticates that Nāgarāja and his successors were the Khaśas. It states that Jayatāri (Jitāri), Aśokachalla's son, was the king of the Khaśas. Moreover, this chronicle clearly mentions that Ripumalla and Ādityamalla were the Khaśa kings.[30]

With their family name 'malla', some historians have tried to establish blood relationship between the Khasiyā Mallas of the thirteenth century and the Mallas of Mallapuri conquered by the Lichchhavī king Mānadeva of Nepal of the fifth century, and with the Mallas of Mallabhūmi (Kuśinagar and Pāvā) of the sixth century B.C.[31] But their versions cannot be accepted because the Dullu pillar inscription clearly mentions that Asokachalla's son Jitārimalla and Jayapāla's son Puṇyamalla took the Malla title. (App. B-27).

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12. *Mudrārākṣasa* (5: 11).
13. *Mahābhārata* (8: 44: 45, 46; 8: 45: 6, 7).
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26. This Nāgarāja is not the founder of the Khaśa Kingdom. He is the forefather of that Nāgarāja who is mentioned in the Dullu pillar inscription and whom Tibetan chronicles call Nāgadeva.
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POLITICAL HISTORY

CHAPTER TWO

Foundation of the Khaśa Kingdom

The stone pillar inscription of Dullu has great importance on the political history of the early medieval Western Nepal. It gives the genealogy of the Pāla and the Khaśa rulers. The Pālas were, probably, the rulers of the Karnali region before the Khaśa Kingdom came into existence. The Khaśas founded their rule in South-Western Tibet and subsequently they came and conquered Western Nepal under the leadership of Nāgarāja This inscription states, "Nāgarāja who lived at Khāripradeśa came to (Sinja) and became *Jāveśvara*. He established order in Seṅjāpurī." (App-27, verse 12). Khāripradeśa was an old name of Ngari sKorsum of Western Tibet and its headquarter was Tāklākhār. Yogi Naraharinath points out that *Jāveśvara* literally means *Jumleśvara*, the ruler of Jumla.[1] A copper plate grant of Sudarśana Sāhī dated 1745 mentions that the kingdom of Jumla was known as *Jāveśvaradeśa*.[2] There is also a river flowing in the valley of Jumla which is called Javānedī. Thus it becomes clear that Nāgarāja came from Khāripradeśa of South-Western Tibet to Jumla, founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal and made Sinja its capital, The ruins of Sinja royal palace are still to be seen on a small hillock near Hāṭsiñjā village of Jumlā district.

No evidence states the time when Nāgarāja founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal. This is a matter of mere conjecture. The first evidence of the Khaśa Kingdom found so far is the copper plate grant of Bāleśvara temple granted by king Krāchalla according to which the year of enthronement

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of Krāchalla was 1207 (App. B-1). Krāchalla was the fifth successor of Nāgarāja. Therefore, P.R. Sharma writes that giving an average of twenty years rule to each of the five kings before Krāchalla, the establishment of the Khaśa Kingdom by Nāgarāja would have taken place around the beginning of the twelfth century.[3]

Territory and Boundary of the Khaśa Kingdom

In the Bodh Gaya inscription, Aśokchalla is said to have been the king of the kings of the Khaśa country of *Sapādalakṣa* mountains (App. B-4). The term *Sapādalakṣa* means :

> Sapādalakṣa is an old name of the Sivālik hills, and the name literally 'one and a half quarter lakh' must have given them from the number of hills in the range. The Saṅskrit name may have got corrupt into Prākrit Savālakha, and thence into Sivālik.[4]

King Puruṣottamasiṁha of Kamādeśa (Kumaon) regarded Aśokachalla as the crest jewel of the kings of the Sapādalakṣa mountains.[5] Therefore, it can be conjectured that Sivālik mountain range from the Gaṇḍakī to Sutlej was within the jurisdiction of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The Khaśa rulers had invaded the Nepal Valley several times.[6] They had issued orders ensuring the security of the Tāghwaī monastry of Aṭhāraśayakholā, north of Gorkhā (App. B-17, 18). Hence, the territory of the Khaśa Kingdom seems to have been extended up to the Trisūlī Gaṇḍakī river in the east.

King Krāchalla, the fifth successor of Nāgarāja, established the Khaśa suzerainty over Kumaon in the year of 1223. (App. B–1). His son Aśokachalla further proceeded towards west and conquered Garhwal (App. B–2, 5). As a vassal king of the Khasa Kingdom, king Puruṣottamsiṁha of Kumaon sought consent of Aśokachalla to offer worship in Gayā.[7] Thus in the west Kumaon and Garhwal were under the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom. However, it is uncertain

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whether the Khaśa rulers after Aśokachalla continued their hold upon the territory of Kumaon and Garhwal.

The chronicles of Western Tibet state that the Khasiyā Mallas succeeded at a certain time to the ruling lDe family of Lhasa and began to rule over South-Western Tibet that is Ngari sKorsum of today.[8]

> Ngari was subdivided into three smaller districts- Guge, Gangri and Purang. Guge was the largest of the three, and contains the well known towns of Tholing and Tsaparang. Gangri (Kailāśa) is the country around the holy lakes (Mānasarovara and Rākṣasa) and Purang is the upper valley of the Gogra or Karnali river.[9]

G. Tucci, after a long discussion, reaches the following conclusion :

> In the end of the 12th century some tribes, certainly Khas, invaded respectively the kingdom of Purang and that of Guge (and probably also Ladakh)..... In the 13th century Purang and Guge and western Nepal were united and thus marked the climax of the power of Mallas.[10]

The renowned Suvarṇabhūmī, Mount Kailāśa (the abode of Śiva) and the holy lake Mānasarovara were within the domain of the Khaśa Kingdom. In the south the Khaśa Kingdom seems to be extended up to the outer Tarai, south of the Sivālik mountain range. Two inscriptions of Ripumalla are found in Lumbini and Kapilvastu (App. B-11, 13). Thus, the Khaśa Kingdom, in its heyday, comprised Western Nepal, South-Western Tibet, and Kumaon and Garhwal. Spatially, it was situated, approximately, within the area between 78° east to 85.°30' east and 27.°45' north to 31° north.

The Pālas

The Pālas and the Khaśa rulers appear together in the Dullu pillar inscription. This inscription mentions the Pālas also in the capacity of kings. Eighteen names of the Pālas followed

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by the names of Puṇyamalla and Śrimalla are inscribed in the inscription. They are known as the successors of Ādityavaṁśa. The genealogy is as follows :

> Ādityavaṁśa; Ādipāla, Amarpāla, Jayapāla I, Vijayapāla, Vīrapāla, Vikramapāla, Śrīpāla, Dhīrapāla, Somapāla, Sūryapāla, Samundrapāle, Sukhapāla, Vig (r) ahapāla, Mahīpāla (Varapāla, Gajapāla), Viśvapala, Jīvapāla, Saralapāla, Jayapāla II, Puṇyamalla-Śakunamālā (queen of Puṇyamalla) Śrīmalla (first son of Puṇyamalla and Śakunamālā)

No other evidence except the Dullu pillar inscription mentions the Pālas of the Karnali region as the ruling kings. Prithvimalla, who erected this inscription, regards the Pālas in the capacity of kings because they were his ancestors from his father's line.

The Pālas of the Karnali region might have ruled over this area before the establishment of the Khaśa Kingdom. When the Khaśas, under the leadership of Nāgarāja, established their hold over this region, the Pālas accepted the supremacy of the Khaśa rulers and their position was reduced to that of feduatories. According to the line of succession Sūryapāla seems to be the contemporary of Nāgarāja.

The Pālas as the predecessors of the Khaśa rulers possessed skill and experience in the matter of state affairs. They used to help the Khaśa rulers to run the state administration. Sahaṇapāla was a *Bhāṇḍāgārika* (treasurer) in the court of Aśokachalla. (App. B-4). In the same way, the Pālas might have been employed as district administrators in some imporant places such as Goha, Jhuṁkār, Gelā and Pālpā. In the Dullu pillar inscription also Goha and Jhuṁkār are mentioned as *viṣayas* (districts). (App. B-27, verses 5-7).

As stated earlier, the Khaśa Kingdom in its heyday was extended from the west of Nepal valley to the east of Kashmir

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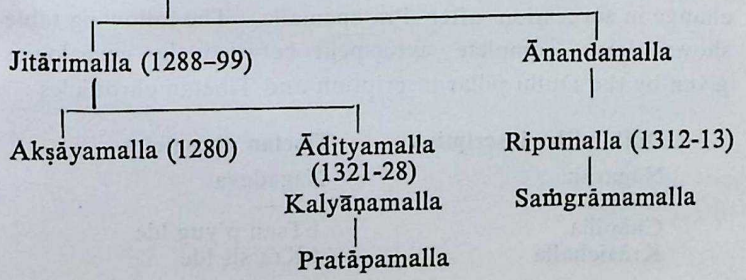
and from the south of Brahmaputra to the north of Ganges. The places such as Gelā, Goha (Guṭhīchaur) and Jhuṁkār (Tibrikoṭ) which are suggested as the seats of the Pāla Kingdom[11] are situated within one or two days journey from Siñjā. Tibrikoṭ and Guṭhīchaur are in the east of Siñjā while Gelā lies to the south-west. It is quite impossible to be the separate entity of the Pāla Kingdom in the vicinity of Siñjā when the Khaśa power was an unparalleled force of the area mentioned above. Similarly, it will be unreasonable to identify Purang as the kingdom of the Pālas and Guge as the kingdom of the Khaśas.[12] There was no existence of the Pāla Kingdom in this region during the days of the Khaśa rule. The Pālas were feudatories of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Nāgarāja's Successors

On the north face of the Dullu pillar inscription, the genealogy of Nāgarāja dynasty is inscribed. Tibetan chronicles also mention the Khaśa rulers as the kings of Western Tibet. According to the Dullu pillar inscription the genealegy of Nāgarāja dynasty is as follows.

Nāgarāja (around the beginning of twelfth century)

Chāpa
Chāpilla
Krāśichalla
Krādhichalla
Krāchalla (1207–23)
Aśokachalla (1255–78)



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The Dullu pillar inscription states Ādityamalla's son Kalyāṇamalla and grandson Pratāpamalla as the ruling kings but no other evidence is available to support this statement. Therefore, question arises in regard to the succession after Ādityamalla. If we accept the authenticity of the chronicle of Taghwai monastry, this problem can be solved with its help as described below.[13]

Ādityamalla

son,	son in law
Kalyāṇamalla (died before coronation)	Puṇyamalla (married Śakunamālā and succeeded her father, Ādityamalla)
Pratāpamalla (became a monk)	

The family of Puṇyamalla, according to the Dullu pillar inscription and other sources, is as follows :

Puṇyamalla (1328-37)

Śrīmalla (first son)	Chandramālā (daughter)	Prithvīmalla (1338-58) (Dharmamālā and Dīpamālā were the queens of Prithvīmalla).

Sūryamalla (1367)
Abhayamall (1376-91)

The chronicles of Tibet give some important information about the Nāgarāja dynasty.[14] The name of Nāgarāja mentioned by the Tibetan chronicles is Nāgadeva. They also refer to the change in succession after Pratāpamalla. The following table shows almost complete agreement between the genealogies given by the Dullu pillar inscription and Tibetan chronicles :

Dullu pillar inscription	**Tibetan chronicles**
Nāgarāja	Nagadeva
Chāpa	—
Chāpilla	bTsan p'yug lde
Krāśichalla	bKra sis lde

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Krādhichalla	Grags btsan lde
Krachalla	Grags pa lde
Aśokachalla	A so ga, A so lde
Jitārimalla	aDsin dar smal, aJidar smal
Ānandamalle	Anan, Anan ta smal
Ripumalla	Reu, Riu smal
Saṁgrāmamalla	Sangha smal
Ādityamalla, son of Jitārimalla	A jid smal
Kalyāṇamalla	Kalan smal
Pratāpamalla	Par tab smal
Puṇyamalla of another family	Punya rmal (bSod nams) of the family of Purang[15]
Prithvīmalla	Pra ti rmal

According to the Dullu pillar inscription Nāgarāja had come from Khāripradeśa of Tibet. But some Tibetan chronicles state that bTsan p'yug lde (Chāpilla) went to Yatse (Siñjā) and became its king. Whosoever might have been the person to come to Siñjā, all the sources are unanimous in one point that someone among the earlier Khaśa kings had come from Tibet. But the Dullu pillar inscription is more authentic than the other sources. Therefore, it has been already mentioned above that Nāgarāja was the founder of the Khaśa Kingdom of which Sinja was the capital.

King Nāgarāja was the great conqueror and reformer. He not only founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal but also made many reforms in his kingdom. If the Buddha image inscription of Barahat (Garhwal) is that of Nāgarāja, he must have conquered Kumaon and Garhwal also.

After Nāgarāja, according to the Dullu pillar inscription and Tibetan chronicles, Chāpa, Chāpilla, Krāśichalla and Krādhichalla became kings in succession. But we have no source to throw light on their reigns. The source cited above give only their names and order of succession. The king who bears great importance after Nāgarāja, is Krachalla, son of Krādhichalla.

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Kumaon Invasion of Krāchalla

A confirmation of deed of Krāchalla is inscribed on the reverse of the copper plate grant made by the Katūrī king Deśaṭadeva to the Bāleśvara of Kumaon.[17] This inscription of Krāchalla was inscribed in the Śāke era 1145 (1223 A.D.). At that time the capital of the kingdom of Krāchalla was 'in the prosperous city' near Dullu.

According to the Bāleśvara temple inscription (App. B-1), Krāchalla had invaded and subjugated Kumaon in 1223. This took place in the sixteenth year of his enthronement. Therefore, it seems that Krāchalla had become the king in (1223-16) 1207. The chronological history of the Khaśa Kingdom begins from that date.

Eight names of *Māṇḍalikas* (governors) and two names of *Rāuttarājas* are also inscribed in his Bāleśvara temple inscription. They had accompained the king during his invasion of Kumaon. They were : Śri Yāhaḍa Deva Māṇḍalika, Śri Chandra Deva Māṇḍalika, Śri Hari Rāuttarāja, Śri Anilāditya Rāuttarāja, Śri Vinaya Chandra Māṇḍalika, Śri Vidyā Chandra Māṇḍalika, Śri Jaya Siṁha Māṇḍalika, Śri Jihala Deva Māṇḍnlika, Śri Vallāla Deva Māṇḍalika and Śri Musā Deva Māṇḍalika.

In those days, the *Māṇḍalikas* had occupied high position. In this incription *Māṇḍalkias* and *Rānttarāias* are mentioned as friends and ministers of the king. It appears that Krāchalla adopted 'divide and rule' policy to administer Kumaon. Some local chiefs were made *Māṇḍalikas* to gain their favour. Atkinson writes :

> The names of the Māṇḍalikas or local chiefs contain those of two Rāwat Rājas evidently of the same clan as the chief of Domkot, and the names Jihala and Jaya may be compared with the names of Khasiyā Rājās Jāhala and Jaya. It is worthy of note that three of the Māṇḍalikas have the tribal affix Chandra, the same as that borne by Som Chand's family.[18]

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With the advent of the subjucation of Kumaon there took place a fierce battle and the casualties might have been many as the inscription states, "...the prosperous Krāchalla Deva... has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kartipura, (Kārttikeyapura-Kumaon) and established our right therein." (App. B-1). As mentioned above, many of the local chiefs accepted the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom and the others who did not were destroyed by Krāchalla.

But after the conquest Krāchalla showed tolerance in religious matter. Although he himself was a Buddhist king, he offered worship to Ekrudra Bāleśvara, the Hindu god, and donated a larga area of land with mines, valleys, and jungles, together with its products. In this way, Krāchalla showed deep respect to the feeling of his Hindu subjects of the newly acquired territory of Kumaon.

Conquests of Aśokachalla

Aśokachalla succeeded his father Krāchalla. The inscriptions relating to him are found not only in Western Nepal but in Garhwal, Gaya and Bodh Gaya also, and confined to the dates between 1255 and 1278. (App. B 2-6). Therefore, it appears that he ruled over the country for more than twenty-three years.

The reign of Aśokachalla marks the climax in the history of the Khaśa Kingdom. The trident inscriptions of Gopeśvara (Garhwal) and Barahat (Tehri Garhwal) mention him as a great conqueror. If his father Krāchalla had conquered Kartripura (Kumaon), he would have further proceeded towards west and occupied Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal. His army known as "*sarvagāminivāhinī*" was one of the best forces of that time. King Puruṣottamasiṁha of Kumaon in his Gaya inscription writes that Aśokachalla was a renowned and illustrious ruler, and was the crest jewel of the kings of Sapādalakṣa mountains.[19]

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The trident inscription of Gopeśvara points out that as Vikramāditya ruled over Vetālas, so did Aśokachalla over Dānavabhūtala. Dānavabhūtala might have been referred to the country of Western Tibet,[20] which was under the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom. Some chronicles of Tibet mention, "His son, A so lde (Aśokachalla), bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-nan-med (Aśoka Maurya). At that time they belonged to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes." (App. A). These 44 towns or villages might have been the territory of Ladakh, lying to the north of Kumaon.

The *sarvagāminivāhinī* (an encompassing force) of Aśokachalla brought the Gandaki region under the control of the Khaśa Kingdom. It was due to that control, Jitārimalla, son of Aśokachalla, could easily invade the valley of Nepal for the first time in 1288. It appears that the tribal chieftains of the Gandaki region were compelled to pay tribute to the Khaśa Kingdom during Aśokachalla's rule.

Thus Aśokachalla expanded his kingdom into a trans-Himalayan empire in this mountainous region. His empire comprised Guge, Purang and Gangri (Kailāsa) in the north, Tarai in the south, Kumaon and Garhwal in the west and the Gandaki region in the east. Generally, we cannot find the existence of a big kingdom in the mountainous region during the medieval period but it was due to their valour and bravery that Aśokachalla and his followers expanded their kingdom into an empire conquering the rugged and ferocious barriers of nature.

Aśokachalla was known not only as a great conqueror but was also renowned for his broad religious policy. He is especially remembered as a kind and tolerant king in the pillar inscription of Dullu (App. B-27). Although he was a devout follower of Buddhism, a faith based on non-voilence, he always kept his army strong and effective.

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As the Gandaki region was occupied, the waves of the Khaśa-Āryan people came and settled there and their language and culture expanded rapidly throughout Western Nepal by the time of Aśokachalla. The king promoted various aspects of Nepalese Pahāḍī society and culture. The first written document of Nepālī language (Sīnjālī branch of the Khaśa language) available so far belongs to his period (App. B-6). It will be discussed later that the famous Kāñkrevhāra of Surkhet, a large and beautiful Buddhist monument of the Karnali region, was probably made in the heyday of the Khaśa Kingdom, that is during the reign of Aśokachalla.

Dispute on the Succession after Jitārimalla

Jitārimalla was the elder son and successor of Aśoka-chlla. He was the first Khaśa ruler who adopted the Malla title. The Khaśa people under the leadership of their king, Jitārimalla, stormed the valley of Nepal to invade for the first time in 1288. If the small inscription of Pādukāsthān, Dullu, dated 1299 is of Jitārimalla, the span of his reign seems at least 11 years. (App. B-10).

Jitārimalla had two sons—Akṣyamalla and Ādityamalla. But there is controversy as to the immediate successor of Jitārimalla. At the same time Jitāri's nephew Ripumalla (Anandamalla's son) appears to have enjoyed royal titles.

Akṣayamalla was the rightful successor of his father's throne. But no source speaks of his enthronement. Tibetan chronicles also do not mention his name in the list of the Khaśa rulers. He might have died before being crowned or some other incidents might have occurred which prevented him from succeeding his father. On the other hand, a chronicle of Tibet writes, "Ḥdzin-dar-rmal's son (Jitārimalla's son), Ā-hdzin-rmal (Ādityamalla), first became a monk at Saskya (Shākya monastery of Western Tibet); (then) he became king again." (App. A). It is to be noted as to why Ādityamalla went to Shākya monastery to be a monk. It may be the rise of Ripumalla

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who ultimately captured the throne of the Khaśa Kingdom, and Ādityamalla fled to Tibet.

Ripumalla appears for only two years (1312-1313) with the status of a sovereign king. Hence nothing is known about Ripumalla and his son Saṁgrāmamalla. It appears that Ādityamalla returned from the Shākya monastery at sometime between 1313–1316 and established his hold over the throne of Siñjā (App. B 12, 15).

A Change in the Line of Succession

Ādityamalla, as known from the *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī*, was ruling until 1328. Probably, he died immediately after his return from the invasion of Nepal valley because an inscription of his successor king Puṇyamalla, dated 1328 is available (App. B-18).

According to the stone pillar inscription of Dullu, Ādityamalla's grandson Pratāpamalla left no issue to succeed him. This put an end to the line of Nāgarāja. Then, Puṇyamalla, a descendant of the Pālas, became the ruler of the Khaśa Kingdom. Before his succession to the throne of Sinja, he was a vassal chief living in Gelā.[21] The Dullu pillar inscription states nothing as to how Puṇyamalla got the throne of the Khaśa Kingdom. According to a Tibetan chronicle, a relative of the last king (Par-tab smal) of the Nāgarāja dynasty named So-nam de (bSod-nams lde) accepted an invitation to become the king and under the title of Pun-mal held the government of Purang.[22] Most of the chronicles of Tibet brought to light by G. Tucci also agree with this statement.[23] However, it seems that Puṇyamalla did not succeed Pratāpamalla, he succeeded Ādityamalla. As mentioned earlier, Ādityamalla was ruling up to the fullmoon day of Chaitra 448 Nepal era (April, 1328 A.D.).[24] A copper plate inscription mention that Puṇyamalla had become the king before the month of Baisākha (April-May) of the same year. (App. B-18). There is no inscription of Kalyāṇamalla and Pratāpamalla available.

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The chronicle of Taghwai monastery (though its authenticity has yet to be proved) states that king Ādityamalla had one son (Kalyṇamalla) and a daughter (Śakunamālā). Kalyṇallamalla's son Pratāpamalla was a bachelor. When Ādityamalla died, Pratāpamalla did not ascend the throne. At his request, Puṇyamalla, the husband of Śakunamālā, was proclaimed the king. Thereafter, Pratāpamalla became a monk.[25] P. R. Sharma writes :

> It is possible to regard following Mr. Balakrishna Pokharel that the right to inherit the throne as well as the Malla title came to Puṇyamalla by virtue of his marrying the daughter of the sons of Nāgarāja's house. I know from the instance of the Matwāli Chhetris of the Choudhabisakholā (Jumla) that this practice known as 'gharhālne' prevails even today in which a sonless father brings in his son-in-law to stay in his house.[26]

Such a custom, like the one just mentioned above, known as *dolājīprathā* was in vogue in the Nepal valley during the medieval period in which a sonless father gives his daughter in marriage and his son-in-law receives his *gotra* (family name) as well as the right to inherit him.[27] If viewed in the light of this custom, Puṇyamalla, who married Śakunamālā, the daughter of Ādityamalla, got the right to inherit the throne of Ādityamalla as well as to adopt the Malla title.

Puṇyamalla was succeeded by his son Prithvīmalla around the beginning of the year of 1338. The duration of Puṇyamalla's rule seems of about nine years (App. B-18-21). The Khaśas once again invaded the Nepal valley in the winter of 1334 during the reign of Puṇyamalla. It has been claimed that Puṇyamalla had conquered several countries such as Koṅgkana, Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Murala, Ḳerala, Dahāla, Aṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Mithila, Mālava, Nepāla, Gurjara, Jālandhara and Āndhra (App. B 20). However, his claim, excepting the conquest of Nepal in 1334, lacks substantial evidence.

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On the Khasiyās' Invasions of the Nepal Valley

As mentioned earlier, the Gandaki region was subjugated by Khaśas by the time of Aśokachalla. This helped his successors in making continuous efforts to get control of the kingdom of the Ṇepal valley. Jitārimalla, the son and successor of Aśokachalla, was the first Khaśa ruler who invaded the valley for the first time in 1288. According to the *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī*, the Khaśas had invaded the valley of Nepal several times as follows :

1. Jitārimalla's first invasion-NS 408 Pauṣa (1288 A.D.).
2. Jitārimalla's second invasion-NS 409 Phālguna (1289 A.D.).
3. Jitārimalla's third invasion-NS 410 Phālguna (1290 A.D.).
4. Ripumalla's visit-NS 433 Phālguna (1313 A.D.).
5. Khaśa invasion during the time of Ādityamalla-NS 441 Chaitra (1321 A.D.).
6. Ādityamalla's second invasion-NS 488 Chaitra (1328 A.D.).
7. Khaśa invasion during the time of Puṇyamalla-NS 454 Bhādra (1334 A.D.).

Thus the Khaśas had entered the valley altogether seven times and among them six were the invasions. Ripumalla visited the valley in 1313 on a pilgrimage. All the Khaśa invasions were carried during the winter except the last one. Puṇyamalla's force entered the valley in the month of Bhādra (August-September) and returned home after six months in Phālguna (February-March). Most of the campaigns were led by the Khaśa rulers themselves. Therefore, it appears that the campaigns were taken by them seriously.

In the east of the Khaśa Kingdom, the valley of Nepal from the early period was a prosperous one due to its fertile land and interpot trade link with Tibet and India. It was not only well known for its prosperity but also renowned as a centre

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of pilgrimage, having the sacred shrines of Pasupatinātha, Svayaṁbhūnātha and Matsyandranātha.

The story of the enormous wealth of the Nepal valley lured several invaders. As the people from the remote hills of the Karnali region came and settled in the fertile basins of the Gandaki region after the Khaśa rulers' domination the Khaś-Āryan people and their culture widely diffused throughout Western Nepal. Then the Khaśa campaigned towards the heart of the Nepal valley by the time of Jitārimalla in 1288. On the invasions of Jitārimalla the author of the *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī* writes :

> The Khasiyās came. For the first Rājā Jayatāri entered in the month of Pauṣa of the year 408 NS. In Sāmhe (Svayaṁhū area) 800 Khasiyās were killed and entire mass of our people took shelter in the forest. Then the Khasiyās fled. Thereafter the people returned to their normal life in a happy mood.* The year came. On Phālguna Śukla 13, Jayatāri entered once again for the second time. He brunt several villages. He offered worship to Svayaṁbūnātha, Lokeśvara and Paśupatinātha. Then happily he returned to his country. Saṁvat 409 NS.* On 410 NS Phālguna Śukla Prapatipadā (February 26th, 1290) Jitāri came and captured Nuwākoṭ. He presented treasury to the temple of Buṅgma (Rātomatsyendranātha), entered Gvālā (Deopātan) by the western gate..Then he brunt several villages. Remained encamping for one month in Pātan (but) the fort could not be opened.[28]

From the above statement it seems that during the first invasion the year of 408 NS (1288 A.D.) a fierce battle had taken place between the Khaśas and the forces of the Nepal valley in which eight hundred soldiers of the invaders were killed. The number of casualties on the side of the Nepal valley is not mentioned. However, it seems that the kingdom of the Nepal valley was defeated by the Khaśas and its people took shelter in the forest. When the Khaśas returned to their homeland, the people of the Nepal valley returned to their normal life.

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After fourteen months of the first invasion, Jitāri again invaded the Nepal valley. At that time the Khaśa troops burnt several villages. *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśavalī* does not mention anything regarding the resistance against the invading force. It mentions only the religious deeds performed by the king Jitārimalla in the Nepal valley. His third invasion took place in 1290, after one year of his second invasion.

Though the Khaśa invaders fired the city and looted the wealth of the people and the palace of the Nepal valley, they exhibited their spirit of religious toleration outside their domain also. Jitāri performed pujā and offered presents to the deities of Hindus as well as Buddhists in the valley. Ultimately Anantamalla, the then king of Nepal, would have been compelled to pay tribute to the Khaśa kingdom.

But the Khaśa supremacy established by Jitārimalla over the valley did not last for a long time. The Ḍoyas from the Karnāta Kingdom of Tirhut invaded the valley in 1300 and 1311.[29] The Tirhut invasion of 1300 was carried on at the request of the king Anantamalla himself.

King Anantamalla of Nepal died in 1308. After him Ānandadeva ascended the throne. But some prominent courtiers like Jayaśaktideva, Vetanadeva and Meghachandradeva were against the new king. They did not hesitate even to seek help from the Ḍoyas of Tirhut. The Ḍoyas were called for. They reached the valley in the month of Māgha (January-February) 1311. They remained in the valley for more than a year. They fired the cities and temples, plundered the riches of the temples and imprisoned courtiers and Brāhmaṇas. But they could not establish their rule and returned home in 1312. Nor could they dethrone the king Ānandadeva.[30]

In 1313 the Khasiyā Rājā Ripumalla visited the valley. King Ānandadeva of Nepal was the supporter of the Khaśa

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ruler. As the Ḍoyas were driven out and Ānandadeva had consolidated the power, Ripumalla did not need to carry any operation against anyone. Therefore, the *Gopāla Rājā Vaṁśāvalī* does not mention any hostility at that time when Ripumalla was in the valley. It states that Ripumalla went to Buṅgma, offered treasury to Matsyendranātha, propitiated the Bhaṭṭāraka of Gvālā (Paśupatinātha) and worshipped the Chaitya of Kāntipur (Svayaṁbhūnātha); he performed ceremonies and returned home after eighteen days.[31] He had visited Nepal not as an invader but as a pilgrim. At the same time, he enforced the Khaśa supremacy over the Nepal valley.

Until Rudramalla's emergence on the political horizon of Nepal, nobody appeared to challenge the Khaśa supremacy over the valley. In 1320 Rudramalla crowned his relative Arimalla in Deopātan.[32] Rudramalla was not satisfied with the king Ānandadeva. Therefore, he placed Arimalla on the throne and he himself became the *de facto* ruler. Ultimately, Ānandadeva was forced to quit the crown.

In 1321 the Khaśa king Ādityamalla sent his troops for an attack over the Nepal valley. *Gopāla Vaṁśāvalī* does not mention the name of the leader of the invading force. It mentions that on the second day of the bright moon of Chaitra, 441 NS the Khaśas came, fought and destroyed the fort of Rājabāsa of Tipura (Bhaktapur).[33] Their aim seems to eliminate the power of Rudramalla. So they attacked Bhaktapur which was the seat of Rudramalla's *de facto* rule. Ultimately, Rudramalla might have agreed to pay tribute to the Khaśa Kingdom. That's why the Khaśa rulers did not feel necessary to attack the valley during the lifetime of Rudramalla.

Rudramalla died in 1326 at the age of thirty. After the death of Rudramalla there was complete chaos in the political atmosphere of the valley. In such a condition the

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Khaśa king Ādityamalla once again raided the valley in 1328. According to the *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī*, Ādityamalla came on the seventh day of the bright moon of Phālguna, 448 NS (1328 A.D.), fought and captured Nuwākoṭ. After five days, his force captured Sākharkwāth (Pharping), burnt several villages and surrounded the fort of Pulbahī (Lalitpur) for twenty two days but they could not destroy the fort. Then Ādityamalla and his force entered Nepal in the full moon day of Chaitra 448 NS.[34] The *Vaṁśāvalī* preserved in the Kaiser library describes the result of this invasion in the following words:

> Then Ādityamalla entered Nepal, extracted *daṇḍa* (fine) from the people of Lalitagrāma (Lalitpur) in the full moon day of Chaitra 448 NS.

Thus, Ādityamalla returned to his country after many days' loot and destruction of the Nepal valley. The Khaśas once again invaded the valley during the reign of Puṇyamalla. The *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī* writes:

> Thayitabhā entered Lalitapur on the seventh day of the bright moon of Bhādra 454 (NS) (August-September, 1334). Sakhupatirāj could not enter the city and was killed by the Khaśas. Other forty men were killed. The Khaśas returned on the first day of the dark moon of Phālguna (February-March, 1335) with booty. They brunt the village of Sāṅkhu.[35]

Thus the Khaśa troops remained in the Nepal valley for about six months. It was the longest seize of the Khaśa in the valley. At that time, the Khaśa troops might have involved themselves in the domestic quarrel in the kingdom of Nepal. It was a time when Devaladevī, queen of the late king Harisiṁhadeva of Tirhut, was emerging as a dominating figure in the politics of Nepal. Probably, Devaladevī and her followers succeeded in persuading the Khaśa troops to return, assuring them to pay tribute regularly.

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It appears that the Khaśa rulers were not motivated to annex the Nepal valley into their kingdom due to the inconvenience of transport, administrative and other difficultes. Besides, they always faced mass resentment in the valley. The people chose to take shelter in the forest rather than to accept the permanent control of the Khaśa invaders. On the other hand, the Khaśas had heard of the enormous wealth of the valley. Therefore, they always tried to maintain their supremacy over the valley only to get the incomes derived from it. The Khaśiyā operations were carried to make the valley their tributary. When the tribute was paid regularly the Khaśa rulers left the valley undisturbed. But when their supremacy was violated they invaded the valley, fired the cities, plundered the riches and compelled the kingdom of Nepal valley to pay tributes. Therefore, it appears that during the early medieval period, the kingdom of Nepal valley remained a tributary of the Khaśa Kingdom for sometime.

The Glorious Days of Prithvīmalla's Rule

Prithvīmalla was the son and successor of Paṇyamalla. Puṇyamalla had two sons : the elder one was Srīmalla and Prīthvimalla was the younger. Probably, Śrimalla died before he was crowned and Prīthvimalla succeeded his father. So far available inscriptions mention that Prīthvimalla ruled over his country for more than twenty years (App. B-21-30).

The famous Dullu pillar inscription, which is known as Kīrtistaṁbha also, was installed by Prīthvimalla in the Śāke year of 1279 (1357 A.D.). Many other inscriptions of his time are found in the Karnali region. About one third of the inscriptions relating to the history of the Khaśa Kingdom were inscribed during the reign of Prithvīmalla. For the study of the history of the Khaśa Kingdom, the Dullu pillar inscription of Prithvīmalla bears great importance.

Prithvīmalla had many capable personalities to assist him either in war front or in administration. Tibetan chronicles

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also mention the name of his chief minister.[36] His chief minister was Yaśovarmā. Devavarmā and Jagatisiṁha were other ministers.[37] Yaśovarmā is also known as the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* from the inscription of Jayagarh village (App. B-25). His other prominent courtiers were : Jayasiṁha, Achhāmi Rāulā, Bhartākoṭi Rāulā, Vrihaspati Rāulā, Faityāl Rāulā, Kuṅwar Bhār, Balāl Chand, Abhu Bhaṇḍārī, Kidi Thāpā, Itsaku Joisī, Saṁkardeva Bhaṇḍārī, Bāchhu Bhaṇḍārī and Kidi Sejuwāl. (App. B 22-32).

Many learned Brāhmaṇas like Prasāda Golhaṇa Joisī and Devarāja Joisī adorned his court. They received tax-exempt lands from the king. Śivadeva Joisī, Juthādev Joisī were also respected in his court. Likewise, the learned men and artisans like Bālasarasvati Sumati, Abhivijayasiṁha and Śivarāja. These persons had worked for the installation of the *Kīrtistaṁbha* (victory pillar) of Dullu. The *Kīrtistaṁbha* states that all taxes were exempted to the Brāhmaṇas, *Bhikṣus* (monks), *Dharmabhāṇakas* (preachers and *Sūtradhārakas* (artisans). He gave treasury to the needy who approached him. He was constantly engaged in religious activities and it is said that he converted the age of *Kali* (iron age) into golden age.[38]

During his time the Khaśa Kingdom attained cultural and material prosperity. Commercial contacts with India and the mainland of Tibet were maintained. The main caravan route, connecting India and Tibet passed through Surkhet, Dullu, Siṇjā and Tāklākhār. Prīthvimalla had entrusted his minister Jagatisimha with the task of maintaining this road. Horse-drawn carriages might have been introduced. These *Dharmaśālās* (shelters) and *Nāulīs* (water receptacles) were constructed along the roadsides for the convenience of the caravan carriers and pilgrims. Pātharnāulī of Dullu (Fig. 15) and shelter of Hāuḍī are still to be found in use. A small water receptacle having a small Stupa on its roof was constructed during the reign of Prithvīmalla and the same known as

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Kuchivihār today, is yet to be seen in a village of Achhām (Fig. 14).

Siñjā and Dullu had been more prosperous cities during the time of Prithvīmalla. According to a *kanakpatra* (gold plate) inscription of this king, the royal palace of Sinja was white washed and had four imposing dimensions. The varandahas of the palace were alluring with the songs of beautiful maidens and the palace and its environ was besmeared with the scent of numerous smelling flowers (App. B-26). Dullu was venerated as the most holy place having three Vaiśvānara sites in its surrounding. (App. B-30).

Prithvīmalla, probably, had faced many difficulties during the first phase of his rule. He might have fought many battles and suppressed many rebels. This is felt from the expression that his was the battlefield uproaring like that of Vetāla (App. B-26). He compelled his adversaries to pay him tribute. He ruled his country with dexterity and gave instructions to his vassal kings, as he is said the teacher of the unbaptised kings *(adīkṣita rājā dīkṣā śikṣā guru)* (App. B-30). In an inscription. he is mentioned as great religious king *(parama dhārmika)* and an embodiment of wish-giving tree *(parama kalpadrumāvatara)* (App. B-23).

To the Decline

Prithvīmalla was one of the great rulers of the Khaśa Kingdom. It was in his time that the glory of the Khaśa Kingdom once again reached its climax. "(he) had great dream and he did his best to realise it; but it seems that somewhere he met with disaster."[39] It appears that in his old age he retired from the active political life and devoted himself to religions activities. He followed the policy of non-violence. He did not seriously care for the state affairs, which ultimately caused the disintegration of his great kingdom.

Prithvīmalla ruled over his country at least for twenty years from 1338 to 1358 (App. B-21-30). In 1352 Nirayapāla

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of Doṭī appeared as a sovereign king.[40] Therefore, it seems that Doṭī had revolted against the central government of Siñjā during the last phase of Prithvīmalla's rule. The yoke of the Khaśa suzerainty was overthrown from the South–Western Tibet with the rise of Chang-Chub Gyaltsen, who by 1350 had made himself master of the whole Tibet.[41] Tibetan chronicles also do not mention the names of Prithvīmalla's successors.

The Dullu pillar inscription presents the genealogy of the Khaśa Malla rulers. It mentions also the names of the queens of Prithvīmalla, and even the names of the composer and inscriber of this inscription. If Prithvimalla had a son, when this inscription was inscribed, he certainly would have been mentioned. Probably, Prithvīmalla was heirless.

A land grant charter of 1367 which was issued by the king Sūryamalla from Siñjā has been published recently (App. B-33). Some prominent courtiers of Prithvīmalla such as Juṭhādava Joisī, Śaṅkaradeva Bhaṇḍārī and Achhāmi Râulā figure in it. Therefore, Sūryamalla appears to have occupied the throne of Siñjā after Prithvīmalla. But the relation between Prithvīmalla and Sūryamalla is not clear.

It seems that Sūryamalla initiated military campaigns to supress the revolt of Doṭī and other vassal chiefs, and he achieved some success in his attempt. His inscription mentions that his sword was vigilant to destroy his opponents. He protected those chiefs who were loyal to him, and destroyed those who were proud and revolted against him, and he was the protector of *Uttarākhaṇḍa*, i. e. north-western region of Indian sub-continent (App. B-33). Exaggerations in regard to the praise of the kings are commonly found in the inscriptions. However, one can conclude from the above statement that Sūryamalla was always attentive to save his kingdom from further disintegration.

Two land grant certificates of Abhayamalla are found which were issued from Udumbarapurī in 1378 (App. B-34,

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35).[42] But these records do not mention Abhayamalla as a sovereign king. Nor is Udumbarapurī mentioned as a capital of any kingdom. His name is not associated with the titles of a sovereign king such as *Parambhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. He was *Adhirāja* (crown prince) at that time. It appears that Sūryamalla had entrusted him with the task to suppress the revolt of Ḍoṭi. He appears to have been successful to overcome that revolt. If he had not been successful, he could not have issued the land grant charters from Udumbarapurī. Once again Ḍoṭī came under the control of the Khaśa Kingdom during the time of Sūryamalla.

Abhayamalla was, probably, the son of Sūryamalla. But it is certain that he was the successor of Sūryamalla. Many courtiers of Prithvīmalla and Sūryamalla such as Achhāmi Rāulā, Udayasiṁha Rāulā, Śrivarmā Rāulā and Kidi Sejuwāl also figure in the land grant charters of Abhayamalla (App. B-33-41). Two land grants made by Prithvīmalla were also confirmed by Abhayamalla in 1376 and 1383 (App. B-33, 34 and 39).

As discussed earlier, Abhayamalla seems to have played a successful role to suppress the revolt of Ḍoṭī. But Ḍoṭī could not permanently be subdued. King Nāgamalla (son of Narayapāla) of Ḍoṭī appears as the sovereign king in 1387.[43]

The Rise of the Varman Family

Yaśovarmā had been the most powerful chief minister during the reign of Prithvīmalla (1338-1358). He is mentioned with great regard along with the king Prithvīmalla in the Pātharnāulī inscription of Dullu (App. B-23). Prithvīmalla, in his old age, devoted himself to religious activities. He did not care much in the state affairs. Yaśovarmā had stronghold in administration. His descendants maintained their position in the reign of Sūryamalla. During the time of Abhayamalla, they entirely dominated the politics of Sinja. Many Varmās such as Malayavarmā, Medinīvarmā Jayatavarmā,

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Śrīvarmā, Sujānavarmā, Surulavarmā, Harivarmā Rājavarmā, Sumeruvarmā, Avantivarmā and Anakuvarmā are known as the witnesses of the land grants in the inscriptions of Abhayamalla (App. B 34-41). These Varmās seem to be the descendants of Yaśovarmā.

After Yaśovarmā, Malayavarmā figure prominently in the politics of Siñjā. From the Rainkāsānghu inscription of Kalikot, dated 1378, it is known that Malayavarmā had taken the title of Rājā at that time (App. B-38). A land grant charter issued by him in 1389, found in Jajarkot, mentions him as the *Mahārājadhirāja* (App. B-40). He had, probably, established a separate kingdom, the headquarters of which were Khāḍā-chakra and Bilāspur.[44] Abhayamalla, on the other hand, was the king of Siñjā and he seems to be ruling up to 1391 (App. B 41). Malayavarmā, at about 1391-92, captured Siñjā and made his son Medinīvarmā the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* (provincial administrator) of that place.

It appears that after Abhayamalla, Malayavarmā became the ruler of the Karnali region. He had controlled the area from the east of Ḍoṭī to the west of Gaṇḍakī and from the south of Tāklākhār to the north of the Tarai. After Malayavarmā, according to the chronicle of Raskot, his knigdom was divided among his sons and Balirāja as follows:[45]

Malaibamma

Sumeru-bamma, King of Salyan	Medinibamma (Jaktisiṁha), King of Jajarkot	Parbatiráya (Pitambara-varma), King of Dhulikot (Rukum)	Saṁsaribamma, King of Dailekh	Balirāja,[46] King of Jumla

The name of Sumeruvarmā as the son of Malayavarmā is also recorded in the Rainkāsānghu inscription of Kalikot. (App. B-38). The existence of Medinīvarma, Saṁsāravarma

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and Balirāja has been authentically proved by the inscriptions.[47] Medinīvarmā was the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Sinja in 1393.[48] After some years he became the co-ruler of Sinja with Balirāja as the copper plate charter of 1404, which was jointly issued by them, mentions both of them as the kings of Siñjā.[49] Thereafter, Medinīvarmā does not appear in the political scene of Siñjā. He is said to have been the king of Jajarkot under the name of Jaktisiṁha.[50]

Sinja and Jumla are the two river valleys separated by a hill within the reach of one day's journey. In Jumla, Balirājā had become the king at about 1400. (App. B-43). Probably, he was a relative of Malayavarmā, and he had helped Malayavarmā in capturing the throne of Abhayamalla. When the kingdom was divided after Malayavarmā, Balirāja got Jumal and after some years Sinja also. Thus, he became the founder of the rule of Kalyāl dynasty and the kingdom of Jumla.

The Disintegration of the Khaśa Kingdom

As noted earlier, Nāgarāja founded the Khaśa kingdom sometime at the beginning of the twelfth century. Its glory was enhanced by his successors. In its heydays, it extended as a trans-Himalayan empire. But, during the later years of Prithvīmalla's rule, it began to crumble down into pieces. The following causes can be attributed to the fall of the Khaśa Kingdom.

1. Prithvīmalla, during the early days of his rule, fought many battles and vanquished many enemies. But in his old age he retired from active participation in practical political matters. He devoted most of his time to religious devotion and philanthropic activities. His apathy towards state affairs and his adaption of non-violence ultimately caused the disintegration of his great kingdom which was being preserved with swords.
2. In the middle of the fourteenth century, under the

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leadership of Chang-Chub Gyaltsen, Tibet regained its prestige. This king by 1350 had made himself master of the whole country.[51] Thus, in the reign of this king, South-Western Tibet got freedom from the yoke of the Khaśa suzerainty. The omission of the names of the Khaśa rulers after Prithvīmalla by the Tibetan chronicles bear testimony to this fact.

3. King Krāchalla and his son Aśokachalla had conquered Kumaon and Garhwal. It is uncertain as to when these places became independent from the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom. After the conquest of Aśokachalla, the history of Kumaon remains thickly wrapped up in confusion. We could not find any trace of its soveriegn status. The Rāigāon pillar inscription and other sources mention that it was Gyānachand who ascended the throne of Kumaon with repute and significance. After Aśokachalla's conquest, he was the first ruler who as a sovereign king ruled only Kumaon for more than forty-five years (1374–1419).[52] Thus, under the able leadership of Gyānachand, Kumaon once again rose to a powerful and independent kingdom.

4. It is certain that Ḍoṭī was under the control of the Khaśa Kingdom up to the time of Puṇyamalla (1328–1337).[53] The Pālas of Ḍoṭī might have taken part in the state affairs of the Khaśa Kingdom as local administrators. No evidence is available to prove separate existence of Ḍoṭī during the heydays of the Khaśa Kingdom. In 1352 Nirayapāla of Ḍoṭī appeared in the capacity of a king.[54] But, as stated earlier, Ḍoṭī seems to have been subjugated once again during the time of Sūryamalla. Ultimately, Ḍoṭī gained freedom. Nāgamalla, son of Nirayapāla, appeared as the independent king of Ḍoṭī in 1387.[55]

Due to the inconvenience of transport and other difficulties the Khaśa rulers had adopted the decentralised

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administrative system. The local chiefs were entrusted with the task of running the administration of their respective areas and there were many vassal states. When the central government of Siñjā became weak during the second-half of the fourteenth century, some of them like South-Western Tibet and Ḍoṭī got an opportunity to be free from the control of the Khaśa Kingdom.

5. It appears that when Prithvīmalla retired from the active political life, the courtiers of Siñjā were divided into rival groups in order to take the control of administration. Yaśovarmā dominated the others and bacame the most powerful chief minister of Prithvīmalla. His descendants maintained their predominant positions in the court of Siñjā. During the time of Abhayamalla their position was more exalted. Abhayamalla did not have the capacity to get rid of the Varman family. Ultimately, Malayavarmā occupied the throne of Abhayamalla. Malayavarmā had control only over the area from the east of Ḍoṭī to the west of Gaṇḍakī and from the south of Tāklākhār to the north of the Tarai.

As stated earlier, after Malayavarmā his kingdom broke into a number of small principalities. The Karnali region of his kingdom was divided among his sons and Balirāja. The year 1404 witnessed the total extinction of the Khaśa Kingdom when Balirāja became the co-ruler of Siñjā with Medinīvarmā.[56] Thereafter, Medinīvarmā did not appear in the political scene of Siñjā and Balirāja became the sovereign king of the Jumla Kingdom. He was the founder of the rule of Kalyāl dynasty in Jumla and he made Svarṇarāma the capital of his kingdom. Siñjā remained no longer the capital of any kingdom.

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13. Mohan Prasad Khanal, *Madhyakālina Abhilekha* (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 12–13.
14. G. Tucci, n. 8, pp. 52–60; S. C. Das, n. 8, p. 52; *Appendix*, A.
15. According to the chronicle brought to light by S. C. Das (n. 8, p. 52) a relative of the last king (Partabmal) named So nam de (bSod nam lde) accepted the invitation to become the king and under the title of Puṇyamalla held the government of Purang.
16. Rahul Sankritayan, *Himāla Parichaya*, Vol. I, *Garhwal* (Allahabad: Law Journal Press, 1953), p. 112.
17. Edwin T. Atkinson, *Kumaun Hills* (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, Reprint in 1974), p. 516.
18. *Ibid*, p. 517.
19. Bhagawan Lal Indraji, n. 4, p. 342.
20. Rahul Sankritayan, n. 16, p. 112.

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21. Gelā lies to the south-west of Sinja at about the distance of two days' journey. The Dullu pillar inscription mentions it as the seat of the Pālas who were the ancestors of Puṇyamalla,
22. S. C. Das, n. 8, p. 52.
23. G. Tucci, n. 8, p. 55-60.
24. *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī*, p. 27.
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30. *Ibid*,
31. *Ibid*, p. 43.
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41. H. E. Rechardson, *Tibet and its History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 35.
42. Udumbarapurī has been stated as surrounded by the Setī river. This river descends southwards through the heart of Ḍoṭī.
43. Surya Mani Adhikary, n. 40, pp. 52, 54 and 65.
44. It is believed that Khādāchakra (situated between Kalikot and Raskot) and Bilāspur (situated between Dullu and Jajarkot) were the capitals of Malayavarmā's kingdom. The ruins are yet to be seen in Khāḍāchakra near Mānma village of Kalikot.

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45. Yogi Naraharinath, n. 1, pp. 359–374.
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47. *Appendix* B–42, 43; Yogi Naraharinath, n. 1, pp. 106-107.
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51. H. E. Rechardson, n. 41, p. 35,
52. Edwin T. Atkinson, n. 17, pp. 521-523.
53. Puṇyamalla in his land grant charter of 1337 mentions that he had bestowed a land of Ukuñ (Dārchulā) to a Paṇḍita named Vidyākara. See *Appendix*, B–20.
54. Surya Mani Adhikary, n. 40, pp, 51, 64.
55. *Ibid*, pp. 54, 65.
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ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

CHAPTER THREE

The sources for the study of the administrative system of the Khaśa Kingdom are very few. No epigraphic records and other reliable written documents are available for the study of this important aspect of polity. Therefore, this topic will be studied mainly in the light of the titles and designations of the kings, courtiers and vassal chiefs, and other terms and words which are found in the contemporary inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The Khaśa Kingdom in its heydays occupied a vast territory comprising the diverse topographical regions : the Himalayas, the hills and the Tarai. Due to unbridged rivers, snowy mountains and frozen passes the means of transport and communication connecting distant provinces of the country with the centre were difficult. Therefore, direct rule in all provinces was not possible. It appears that only the Karnali region was under the direct rule of the central government. There were many vassal states outside the Karnali region which paid tribute to the Khaśa Kingdom. The Khaśa kings had left the defeated kings or chiefs to discharge the functions of the local administration of their respective areas by themselves. The administrators of the provinces, under the direct control of the centre, were appointed by the king. The administrative organisation of the Khaśa Kingdom apparently was as follows:

Râi (King)

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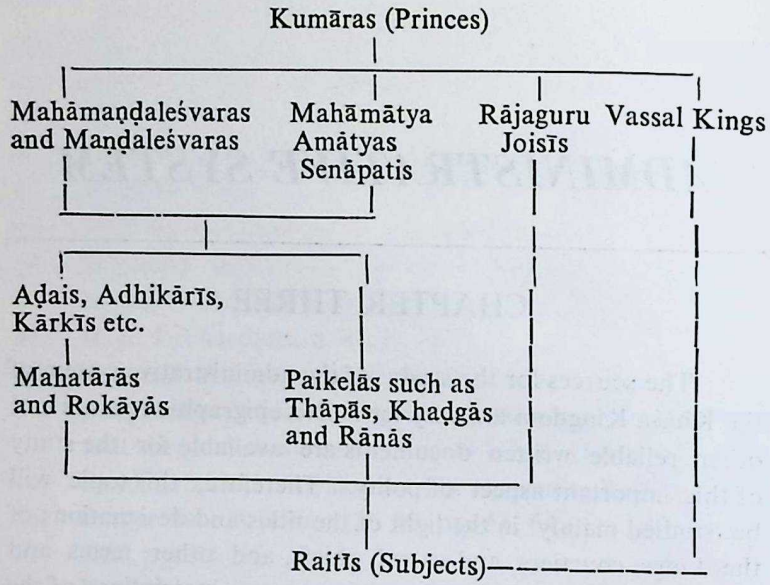

King, the Benevolent Ruler of the Middle Age

The Khaśa rulers adopted Buddhism when they came in contact with the Tibetan Buddhists. After the foundation of the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal, however, they ruled the country according to the ideals of Hindu polity. Kings like Krāchalla, Aśokachalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla stated themselves as *Paramasaugata*, the great devotee of the Lord Buddha. Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla expressed that they became able to preserve their great kingdom with the blessing of Buddha (App. B-19, 20, 26). King Aśokachalla took pride in calling himself a *abhinavabodhisattvāvatāra*, the recent incarnation of Bodhisattva. (App. B-2).

According to the Hindu polity, the king is the protector of the realm and society as the God Almighty protects and sustains the universe. The Khaśa kings, like many Hindu kings of ancient times, bore the eulogies such as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara, rājavalinārāyaṇa. asuranārāyaṇa, rājachakranārāyaṇa, garuḍanārāyaṇa, garuḍad-*

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hvajāvatāra etc. These eulogies tend to indicate that the kings were treated as the incarnation of the Devine Viṣṇu. The one, *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja,* was the distinctive designation of the paramount Hindu rulers.

The king was all in all. He was not only the head of state but was also the chief administrator. The official business was carried by his order. He was also the fountain of justice. He was the chief judge who heard or decided the cases that came from his subjects. The Bālaśvara temple inscription mentions the king Krāchalla as the *Dharmarāja,* the Supreme Judge (App. B-1).

Although the king was all powerful, however, he had to follow the traditional customs and practices. Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla committed themselves to rule the country according to the law and polity propounded by the Hindu scholars and commentators like Gārgyāyaṇa, Gautama, Hārita and Apastaṁva (App. B-19, 20, 26, 30). It appears that they had accepted the control of the Superior Authority as it is said that they were able to preserve their great kingdom with the blessing of the Lord Buddha *(śrighanāradhanādhigata prājyarājya rakṣā kṣama)*. The discharged the functions of a benevolent ruler of the middle age.

The kings were respectful and tolerant to both Hinduism and Buddhism. They paid special attention to the welfare of their subjects. Evidences show that they constructed many water–recepacles. shelters, roads and temples. Sometimes, the kings went out of the capital for inspection tours and gathered first hand informations about district administration. Some orders are found issued from their tour camps.[1]

The king was the central authority. His power was delegated to the courtiers, ministers, *Maṇḍaleśvaras* and other various officers. On the other hand, there were many vassal kings who were entrusted to run the local administration. It

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is mentioned that Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla had given instructions to their vassal kings (*Adīkṣita rājā dikṣā śikṣā guru)*.

Kumāras (Princes)

The reference to the *Kumāras* is found in almost all the the land grant certificates of the Khaśa Kingdom. The position of the princes was next to the king. As eldest son of a king had the right to occupy the throne after his father, his brothers were generally appointed in the governmental posts like *Senāpatis* (commander–in–chiefs), *Maṇḍaleśvaras* (governors) and *Amātyas* (ministers). In this way, the princes assisted the king in the state affairs.

Primogeniture was the accepted law of succession to the throne. A sonless king could adopt his son–in–law or near relative as his heir–apparent. As discussed earlier, Puṇyamalla had succeeded his father–in–law Ādityamalla. The tradition of coronation was also in vogue. The Dullu pillar inscription mentions the coronation ceremony of Puṇyamalla (App. B-27, verse 17).

Emphasis had been given to the education of the *Kumāras*, especially to the heir–apparant. The teachers of Aśokachalla were the learned *Paṇḍit* Mūśala and a monk named Guchapathi from Kashmir. (App. B-3). There were many scholars like Deva Joisī, Jayākara Paṇḍit, Golhaṇa Joisī, Vidyākara Paṇḍit and Śivadeva Paṇḍit who taught ethics, law and polity to Ādityamalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla. Trainings in administration and military arts were also given to the *Kumāras*. Prince Abhayamalla, as mentioned earlier, appears to have played a successful role to supress the revolt of Ḍoṭī during the time of Sūryamalla.

Mahāmātya and Amātyas

Mahāmātya was the chief minister while *Amātyas* were the ministers. Some frgmentary references to the ministerial

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designations of the Khaśa Kingdom are available in the inscriptions. According to the Bāleśvara temple inscription, King Krāchalla had accompanied his ministers during his invasion of Kumaon (App. B–1). Sahaṇapāla's grandfather Mriśibrahma was the *Mahāmahattaka* (chief–minister) and his father Chāṭabrahma was the *Mahattaka* (minister) in the court of the Khaśa Kingdom during the times of Krāchalla and Aśokachalla (App. B-4).

In the reign of Prithvīmalla (1338–1358), there were *Mahāmātya* Yaśovarmā, *Mahāmātya* Devavarmā and *Amātya* Jagatisiṁha working simultaneously. Among them Yaśovarmā was the most powerful one. He is mentioned with high regard in the Pātharnâulī inscription of Dullu by the *Mahāmātya* Devavarmā of Chhatyāl family. (App. B-23). *Amātya* Jagatisiṁha was also the in charge of maintaining the trans-Himalayan road passing through Dullu and Sinja (App. B-31). Yaśovarmā was also employed as the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Achham for sometime (App. B–25). Sujānavarmā was the *Mahāmātya* in the court of Abhayamalla (App. B–39). Since the reign of Prithvīmalla, many other members of the Varman family, and the persons having *Rāulā* titles figure frequently as the witnesses of the land grant charters. Some of them were the *Amātyas* in the administration. Their main duty was to assist the king in his state affairs. Also, they had to take part in the warfare in the capacity of commander of the army. Sometimes, they were appointed as the *Maṇḍaleśvara* to run the administration of the *Maṇḍalas* (districts).

Māṇḍalikas or Maṇḍaleśvaras

Inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom give some references to the *Māṇḍalikas*, *Maṇḍalādhīśas* and *Maṇḍaleśvaras*. Eight *Māṇḍalikas* and two *Rāuttarājas* mentioned in the Bāleśvara temple inscription, are stated as the friends and ministers of the king Krāchalla. They had accompained the king during his invasion of Kumaon (App. B–1).

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Medinīvarmā was the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Sinja in 1393 and Saṁsāravarmā was the *Māṇḍalika* of Dullu in 1395.[2] As the *Maṇḍaleśvara* was a title conferred on such powerful persons of the kingdom, it seems to be a very important position of that period. Sometimes royal princes, at times senior officials and occasionally defeated kings were employed as *Maṇḍaleśaras*.

The *Māṇḍalikas*, *Maṇḍaleśvaras* and *Māṇḍalāhīśas* were the same designations. They were the governors of the *Maṇḍalas* similar to that of the districts of present Nepal. Also, there seems no difference between *Maṇḍaleśvara* and *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* as the *Rājā* is often regarded as the *Mahārājādhirāja*. The *Maṇḍaleśvaras* were responsible to the king and used to visit the capital from time to time in order to get the instructions from the sovereign. The *kanakapatra* of Prithvīmalla mentions that *Maṇḍalādhīśas* offered presents and loyalty to the king (App. B–26). They were required to send military contingents to the king in his military undertakings. Sometimes, they had to take part in the warfare.

Pātra, Bhaṭṭa and Śiṣṭa

Some persons having *Pātra*, *Bhaṭṭa* and *Śiṣṭa* titles such as Pātra Śaṁkaradeva, Pātra Trailokyabrahma, Bhaṭṭa Paduma, Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara, Bhaṭṭa Nārayaṇa, Śiṣṭa Rāghava and Śiṣṭa Mahipukāla are known from the inscriptions of Krāchalla and Aśokachalla (App. B–1, 3, 4). They appear to be the prominent courtiers. *Bhaṭṭas* were, probably, the *Dharmādhikāras*, the royal chaplains. The *Bhāta* appears to be the perverted form of the *Bhaṭṭa*. Some persons like Hiṛu Bhāṭa, Rāchhu Bhāṭa and Saichu Bhāṭa figure as the witnesses in the land grant certificates of Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla (App. B–22, 39).

Bhaṇḍārī

The term 'Baṇḍārī' is a corrupt form of the Saṅskrit word *Bhāṇḍagārika*, the meaning of which is treasurer.

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Sahaṇapāla was the *Bhāṇḍagārika* in the court of Aśokachalla. The *Bhāṇḍagārinas* bore witness in a land grant of Puṇyamalla. (App. B-19, 20). Many *Bhandārīs* also figure in the inscriptions of Privthvīmalla. Since it was the title of the treasurer of the state, it was an important designation of the kingdom.

Rājagurus and Joisīs

The *Rājaguru* (preceptor of the king) of Aśokachalla was a learned man whose name was Mūśala. Golhaṇa Joisī was the teacher of Prithvīmalla. He was also an astrologer who made Prithvīmalla's horoscope and got the land grant from the king (App. B-26). *Jaisī* is the corrupt form of *Joisī* and *Jyotiṣī* the meaning of which is an astrologer. As stated earlier, at present in Western Nepal, the *Jaisīs* belong to a sub-caste among the hill Brāhmaṇas. Many *Joisīs* figure prominently in the inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom. They were learned persons having excellent knowledge in Saṅskrit. They were the authors of the highly florid Saṅskrit language of the inscriptions. They were granted with honour the tax-free *Birtā* lands from the kings.[3] They were obliged to advise the kings to rule the country according to the ethics and polity propounded by the earlier Hindu scholars.

Lekhakas

It was the title of an officer who was appointed to write public documents. According to the Muḍedeval inscription of Dullu, there were many *Lekhakas* during the time of Prithvīmalla, among them Iṣṭidāsa was the chief one. (App. B-29). He is also known from the Kuchivihār inscription of Achham (App. B-24).

Prekṣaka

The title 'Pekhaka' is known from the inscriptions of Puṇyamalla and Abhayamalla. It is the perverted form of *Prekṣaka*, meaning an onlooker. Probably, Prekṣaka was the inspector or an officer of intelligence. He might have been

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entrusted with the task of sending information to the central government. In some of the available royal charters of the Khaśa Kingdom, they are placed before the other officers like *Adhikārārīs* and *Kārkīs*. This suggests that *Prekṣaka* was an important functionary of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Aḍai

This officer figures in the inscriptions of Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla. The *Aḍai* was, probably, the supervisor of the crown lands known as *Serā*.[4] There would have been many arable *Serā* lands. For example, a terrian field near the Siñjā royal palace area is called Serā even today. The agricultural produces of *Serā* lands were appropriated by the royal family.

Adhikārī and Kārkī

In ancient Nepal, the governmental officers were called *Adhikrita*.[5] In the Khaśa Kingdom also the *Adhikārī* seems to be an official who combined judicial and administrative functions. The title '*Kārki*' seems originated from the words *Kāraṇika* or *Kārika*, an executive officer especially related to the public incomes.

In the land grant charters of the Khaśa Kingdom, *Prekṣaka, Aḍai, Adhikārī, Kārkī, Khaḍgā, Buḍā, Buḍāthāpā, Thāpā, Rānā, Mahatārā* and *Rokāyā* working at Humla, Dang, Jumla, Dullu, Kudna, Palanta, Raskot, Chhidya, Sirkot, Gum Bajura, are addressed as the local functionaries. Among them, *Adhikārī* and *Kārkī* were the officers of an administrative unit bigger than a village and smaller than a *Maṇḍala* or *Viṣaya* (district), which may be called a *Darā* (sub-district). The *Adhikārī* discharged the administrative and judicial functions of the *Darā*. He worked under the supervision of the *Maṇḍaleśvara*. The *Kārkī* was, probably, an associate to *Adhikārī* in the fiscal administration of a *Darā*.

Mahatārā and Rokāyā

Mahatārā was the village headman and *Rokāyā* was his subordinate in the village level administration of the Khaśa

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Kingdom. He had also to take part in the warfare if called for. Some *vīrastaṁbhas* (herostones) are found established in commemoration of the *Mahatārās* who died in fighting.[6] *Mahattaras* (the elders) were the members of the village council in the ancient Indian states.[7] The village headman of the Thārus in Dang-Deukhuri is called *Mahato* even today.[8] The *Rokāyā* was also an important person in the village administration. His main duty was to receive or entertain the guests, especially the state officials who paid inspection tours. The *Jāgīr* land known as *Rokāyā Ālo* was given to the *Rokāyā* as his emolument.[9]

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

King, The Supreme Commander of the Army

The king was the supreme commander of the armed forces. The Khaśa kings were themselves great warriors. Though they were the devout followers of Buddhism, a faith based on non-violence, they kept their army strong and effective. The Khaśas were well known warriors from the ancient times. Their military morale became more exalted during the days of the Khaśa Kingdom. The Khaśa rulers often themselves led their troops in the invasions. For instance, Krāchalla and Aśokachalla in the conquests of Kumaon area, and Jitārimalla and Ādityamalla during their invasions of the Nepal valley had commanded their armies.

As stated earlier, the Khaśa kings had compelled many small kings of the neighbouring countries to accept their suzerainty. Some Khaśa kings had plundered the wealth of the Nepal valley. Sometimes, they abducted the wives and daughters of the defeated kings. It is said, "His (Aśokachalla's) nails were tinged with the vermilion on the foreheads of the wives of inimical princes." (App. B-2).

King Aśokachalla was proud of his 'encompassing force'. Krāchalla, Puṇyamalla, Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla are stated as the best archers. In the skill of bowmanship,

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Krāchalla is compared with the Hindu mythological heroes such as Rāma, Bhīṣma and the Pāṇḍavas (App. B-1).

Senāpati, the Commander of the Army

The Gopeśvara trident inscription mentions that generals and captains had accompained the king Aśokachalla in his invasion of Kumaon (App. B–2). Often the royal princes, sometimes *Amātyas*, *Maṇḍaleśvaras* and the other administrative officers also acted as the commanders of the armed forces.

Many persons having *Rāulā* title figure in the land grant certificates as the witnesses. Some powerful personalities like Malayavarmā, Medinīvarmā, Saṁsārvarmā and Balirāja had taken this title. The Challa and the Malla were the titles of the kings and the princes, and the Rāulā was the title of the high ranking feudatories including the relatives of the royal family. When military forces were the main sources of political power, the *Rāulās* had almost monopolised the post the *Senāpati*.

Paikelāe, the Warriors

The references to the *Paikelāe* like *Thāpās, Khāḍgās, Rānās*, and *Budās* are found in the land grant certificates. *Thāpās* and *Khadgās* are also known from the commemoration pillars established in honour of the *Paikelās* who died in fightings. These pillars are known as *Virastaṁbhas* (herostones). The Sātkhaṁbha inscriptions of Dullu mention :

> Be it auspicious. Yasu Thāpā, son of Bhīmadeva, established the herostone in 1256 Śāke Era.....
>
> Be it auspicious. Dhāmu Khaḍgā, son of Bhīmadeva, established the herostone in 1256 Śāke Era. 10.

Thus the two sons of Bhīmadeva, namely Yasu and Dhāmu had taken the titles *Thāpā* and *Khadgā* respectively. *Khadgā* is the corrupt form of the Saṅskrit word *Khadgagrāha* meaning the holder of sword. Therefore, *Khadgās* were the

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posts of soldiers who fought with sword. *Thāpās* were also the military personnels since they had established herostones. Yasu Thāpā, Bāsu Thāpā and Rāja Thāpā are known from the inscriptions of the herostones.[11] Many Magars were also employed in the army as they had family surnames such as *Thāpās Thāpā, Rānā, Budā* and *Bndhāthokī*.

During the times of war the *Paikelās* took part in it, and in times of peace they lived in the countryside cultivating their own fields. The folklores of the Karnali region speak highly of the courage and bravery of the *Paikelās*. The member of the *Paikelā* houses helped the king in times of need as the *Samurais* of medieval Japan had done. The carvings of the horse rider *Paikelās* on many wayside stone pillars (Fig. 16) are still to be seen all over the Karnali region.

Weapons of War

Bow and arrow, sword and spear, and *Pāśa* (rope) were the main weapons of war. (App. B-1). The land grant charters of Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla state that their enemies were shot dead by arrows shot from the bows (App. B-26, 36, 37). The carvings of *Paikelās* are seen holding weapons like spear and sword. They are depicted defending with armour, shield and helmet (Figs. 2, 16, 19). Horses were commonly used in the battle-fields. One can see many carvings of horse-rider *Paikelās* on the stone pillars. Horses are also seen covering with armour (Fig. 16).

JUDICIAL CUSTOMS

The Traditional Sources of Justice

Almost all the kings took pride in being called well versed in various *Dharmaśāstars* (the Hindu scriptures). Many Hindu scholars got patronage in the court. They had to advise the kings to discharge the administration of justice according to the laws of holy Hindu texts. The inscriptions mention that laws, ethics and polity propounded by the ancient Hindu scholars like Gārgyāyaṇa, Gautama, Atri,

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Hārita and Āpastaṁba, were the main basis of the judicial administration of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The sayings of the *Smritis* and *Purāṇas* have been exactly quoted in the inscriptions :

> The donor of lands dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years, but the resumer and his counsellor remain in hell for the same number of years.
>
> The appropriator of a village, a gold coin, or one inch of ground, enters into hell to remain there for the reigning period of fourteen Indras.
>
> Whoever resumes lands given either himself or others, may he be born as a worm to remain in filth for full sixty thousand years.
>
> One who would maintain and improve one's own donation or others' donation would enjoy the blessings of gods and goddesses.

The people and the rulers were much religious minded. They believed that if any sin was committed they would suffer in the hell. They were more frightened of sins than legal punishment. The discharge of justice might be misled but the offender, as they thought, could not spare himself in any way from *Dharmarāja*, the Supreme Judge. The concept of hell and heaven made them strictly follow the then prevalent Hindu code of conduct.

Legal Punishment

An inscription of Sinja mentions that Ripumalla had written a book on polity. (App. B-14). That book might have included many references to the administration of justice but the book is not available so far. The murder of Brāhmaṇa, infanticide, killing of women, cow-slaughter and the offence against the king or the act of treason were considered most heinous crimes. Severe punishments like death sentence and confiscation of the property were prescribed for such offences from the ancient period.

The king Sūryamalla took pride in calling himself the

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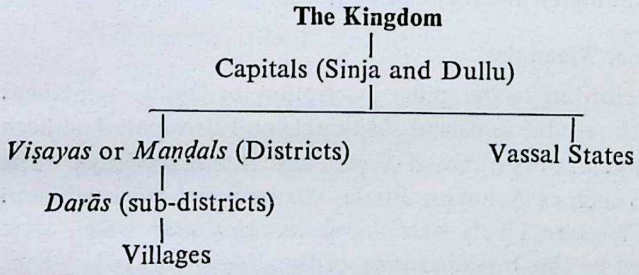
seizure of the whole property of the proud and rebel kings (*sagarva rāja sarvasvaharaṇa pravīṇa*—(App. B-33) Ādityamalla and Puṇyamalla declared that corporal punishments including one *dhārnī* or 100 *tolās* of gold as a fine would be inflicted if the royal orders relating the security of Taghwai monastery were violated (App. B-17, 18).

Some punishments such as *daṇḍakuṇḍa, petāll, chorī* and *jārī* are mentioned in the land grant charters (App. B-26). Judicial fines and corporal punishments were collectively known as *daṇḍakuṇḍa*. *Petāli* was, probably, the punishment for abortion. *Chorī* and *jārī* were the names of punishments inflicted on theft and elopement respectively. However, sources so far available have not stated more elaborately about the laws and the administration of justice of the Khaśa Kingdom.

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

The administrative system of the Khaśa Kingdom was the decentralised one. Its organisational structure appears to have been as follows :



Sinja, the Summer Capital

The valley of Sinja is situated in the Jumla district of Far-Western Nepal. The valley is fertile and looks beautiful. On the eastern side of the valley, there is a small hill, Lāmāthāḍā, where the ruins of the royal palace can still be seen. Sinja was the main seat of adminstration and Dullu was also the headquarter especially for winter season. Sinja lies at the distance of about 100 kilometers from Dullu. It is situated approximately 9,500 feet above sea level. Unlike Dullu, this valley remains snow covered in the winter.

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Sinja, being the capital of the powerful kingdom, had become a prosperous city. Many inscriptions mention Sinja as '*Śrīmatī señjābhidhānavara nagare*'. The royal palace of Lāmāthāḍā was of four imposing dimensions and white washed one. The heaps of ruins lying to the east and southern slopes of the royal palace area show that they were many secretarial complexes and barracks of body-guards.

Dullu, the Winter Capital

References to Dullu as the capital of the Khaśa Kingdom is found in the Bāleśvara temple inscription of Krāchalla, dated December 1223 (App. B–1). Prithvīmalla had issued one land grant charter from Sinja in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July–August) and another from Dullu in the month of Mārga (November–December) (App. B–26, 30). Therefore, Sinja and Dullu seem to be the summer and winter capitals of the Khaśa Kingdom. The famous pillar inscription (*Kīrtistaṁbha*) of Prithvīmalla having the genealogy of the Khaśa rulers is still standing on the roadside of the Dullu hill (Fig. 1)

Viṣayas or Maṇḍalas

According to the pillar inscription of Dullu, sometimes during the medieval period, Mahipāla and Biśvapāla had been the administrators of Goha Viṣaya and Jhumkār Viṣaya. The districts such as Achham, Jumla, Dailekh and Suvarṇabhūmī (South–Western Tibet) were known as *Maṇḍalas* which were governed by the *Maṇḍaleśvaras* or the *Māṇḍalikas*.

Derās and Villages

The term 'Darā' does not occur in the contemporary records. However, from the references of the inscriptions, it can be known that the area, where the *Adhikārī* was the administrator, was similar to that of a Darā (Garkhā in Mahākālī Zone and Thum in mid-western and Eastern Nepal). Until recently, the administrative unit bigger than a villages and smaller than a district, was known as Darā in the Karnali region.[12] Such units mentioned in the inscriptions of the

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Khaśa Kingdom were : Uparī Jumla (Siñjā Darā), Talī Jumlā (Pañchśaya Darā), Rāskot, Palāñtā, Dāṅg, Dullu, Hum and Bājru.[13] Within a Darā there were many villages. As mentioned earlier, *Mehatārā* was the chief functionary of the village administration and *Rokāyā* was his subordinate.

After Aśokachalla, the direct rule of the central government seems to have been confined to the Karnali region. Only the places such as Ukuñ (Dārchulā) in the west, Humla in the north and Dang in the south are recorded in the land grant charters issued by the successors of Aśokachalla. (App. B–19, 20, 25). The territories of the Khaśa Kingdom, outside the Karnali region, were administered by the vassal chiefs. Such vassal kings were the Guruṅg and Magar tribal chiefs in the Gandaki region and local chiefs of South-Western Tibet.

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2. Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, Pt. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsā Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.), pp. 106–107.
3. Some of the *Joisī* Brāhmaṇas who got land grants:

S.No.	Names of the Donor Kings	Names of the Brāhmaṇas	Authors of the Certificates	Dates in Saka Era.
1.	Ādityamalla	Sons of Deve Joisī	—	1243
2.	Puṇyamalla	Jayākara Paṇḍit	Golhaṇa Joisī	1258
3.	Prithvimalla	Golhaṇa Joisī	Śivadeva Paṇdit	1278
4.	Prithvīmalla	Devarāja Joisī	Juṭhādeva Joisī	1280
5.	Sūryamalla	Juṭhā Joisī	—	1289
6.	Abhayamlla	Jayabrahma Joisī	Dharmdāsa Joisi	1298
7.	Abhayamalla	Siru Joisī	Vidyākara	1299
8.	Abhayamalla	Puḍu, Tilu and Sirkanṭhu Joisī	Dharmadāsa Joisī	1299
9.	Abhayamalla	Son of Jayākara	Vidyākara Joisī	1313

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4. M. C. Regmi, *A Study in Nepali Economic History* (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, Reprint in 1978), p. 225.
5. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, *Lichchhavī kālkā Abhilekh* (Kathmandu: I N A S, 2040 B. S.), pp. 122–123.
6. Yogi Naraharinath, n. 2, p. 221.
7. A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India* (Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas, 1972), p. 119.
8. Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal* (Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2nd edition, 1972), p. 119.
9. Yogi Naraharinath, n. 2, pp. 115–117. Even at present in the Karnali region, the *Rokāyā* provides foods and shelter to the government officials and other guests. He takes only the price of food grain. This responsibility is carried on turn by turn by the villagers. It is known as "Rokâyā pālo".
10. *Ibid*, pp. 219–220.
11. *Ibid,*
12. Yogi Naraharinath, n. 2, pp. 13–20.
13. *Ibid*, pp. 50–111,

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SOCIETY AND CULTURE

CHAPTER FOUR

Western Nepal witnessed a great change in the society during the early medieval period. The social interactions led by the encroachment of the Khaśa people were the special phenomena of this period in this area. The rapid assimilation and accomodation of the races, religions, cultures and languages which occurred in this region was never seen before or after this age.

The Khaśa kings were the great devotees of the Lord Buddha but they had equal respect for Hinduism. So Buddhism as well as Hinduism flourished in their kingdom. A sense of harmony and toleration developed between the followers of these faiths. The Pahāḍī language which is known as Khaśa language also emerged at that time. It bore a great impact of the Saṅskrit language from the south. The Khaśas gained political power and eventually dominated the society of Western Nepal. As mentioned earlier, the Pahāḍī caste groups of Nepal owe their origin largely to the Khaśa stock.

The Caste System

The Khaśas were gradually being Indianised even before the beginning of their influx into Western Nepal from the west, that is from Kumaon around the middle of the first millennium A.D. The Āryan people of the Indian plains who preceded or followed the Khaśas to come to this region assimilated themselves in the Pahāḍi caste groups of which the Khaśas constituted the dominating bulk. Most of the non-Mongoloid people of Western Nepal adopted the Hindu caste system.

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Brāhmaṇas–According to the Hindu classification of the caste system, the main duty of the Brāhmaṇas was to perform religious ceremonies. They were learned men holding posts of priests and teachers. They were highly respected in the society. In the Bāleśvara temple inscription, a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa is adorned as well versed in many branches of knowledge (App. B–1). Two other Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇas, Dāmodara and Paduma, got respectful place in the court of Aśokachalla (App. B–3). The *Bhaṭṭa* was the title of the royal chaplain.

Prasāda Golhaṇa Joisī was the teacher of Prithvīmalla. He was the astrologer who made the horoscope of the latter (App. B–26). The Brāhmaṇas like Jayākara and Vidyākara were given the title of *Paṇḍit*. It was the title of a Brāhmaṇa scholar. The other titles of the Brāhmaṇas, *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya*, were the titles of religious preceptors. (App. B–4). The astrologer Brāhmaṇas were known as *Joisīs*,

The Brāhmaṇas exerted influence in the royal court and enjoyed many previlages. They were bestowed with honour the *vrittis*, that is *Birtā* lands exempt from all taxes. The *vrittis* were never to be confiscated. Murder and enslavement of a Brāhmaṇa was considered a heinous crime. It has been stated in an inscription, "he who saves the cow from swamp, the Brāhmaṇa women from slavery, *vritti* from abolition and Brāhmaṇa from murder, gets liberation from the sins of his whole life". (App. B–26). The Brāhmaṇas also occupied many important governmental posts like *Adhikārī*. *Kārkī* and *Bhaṇḍārī*. These official titles changed into family names in course of time. Even at present, many Brāhmaṇa families have these family names.

Kṣatriyas–The Kṣatriyas were the people of ruling and warrior class. The Pālas who ruled over the Karnali region before Nāgarāja, were the Kṣatriyas migrated from the Indo–Gangetic plains. An inscription of Bodh Gaya mentions

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Sahaṇapāla, a courtier of Aśokachalla, as 'the light of Kṣatriya kula' (App. B–4). It appears that with the foundation of the Khaśa Kingdom, the Pālas of the Karnali region were reduced to the position of feudatories. There were matrimonial alliances between the ruling Khaśa family and the Pālas. For instance, Puṇyamalla of the Pāla family married Śakunamālā, the daughter of the Khaśa king Ādityamalla. The Khaśa rulers regarded themselves as 'pure' Kṣatriyas after they become a political power. Many of the Bāisī Ṭhakurīs seem to be the descendants of the Khaśa Malla rulers of Sinja. Many Varmās and Rāulās who occupied important positions like *Amātyas*, *Mandaleśvatas* and *Senāpatis* were the members or near relatives of the ruling Khaśa family.

On the other hand, the *Paikelās* (warriors) like *Thāpās, Khadgās, Rānās* and *Budhās* were recruited mainly from the ordinary Khaśa and Magara communities. Both groups of the Khaśa, *Tāgādhārīs Matwālīs,* could get the post of the *Paikelā.*

Vaisyas-No epigraphic records show the presence of the Vayśya people in this kingdom at that time. Therefore, it appears that the Pahāḍi caste groups had no Vaiśya caste.

Śūdras-An inscription of Balirāja records a Damāī (tailor) and a Ṭamoṭā (copper-smith).[1] The references to Sārkī (cobbler) are also found in a copper plate of 1450.[2] These were the lower class and untouchable people known as Śūdras.

The Position of Women in the Society

The women of the upper starta of the society were respectful. Many inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom write: "Sāntapura.. śchiraṁ jayatu" (Antapura will also be victorious). The Antapura was the living place of the queens. Two wives of Prithvīmalla, Dharmamālā and Dīpamālā. were regarded as the Bhūmī and Śrī of the Divine Viṣṇu. (App. B–27). Krāchalla, in his Kumaon inscription, does not mention his father's name but his mother Śirā has been praised as the most prominent lady. (App. B–1).

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Chastity and faithfulness were considered the best qualities of an ideal woman. The Kumaon inscription of Krāchalla mentions, "The quality of charity and other virtue is excellent, but more so is she who is addicted to her duties and ever faithfully devoted to her lord (husband)." (App. B-1). In the *kanakapatra* of Prithvīmalla, the term 'gosāi' is associated with the name of a woman named Tārādevī. The word 'gosāi' denotes her high position. Very respectable persons of the society were addressed as *gosāijyū*. An inscription of Ghoḍāsain village of Achham reads, "*Śrī Tārādevīśchiraṁ jayatu.*" Therefore, Tārādevī seems to have been another prominent lady of the Khaśa Kingdom. The 'mālā' was the surname of the female members of the royal family. Śakunamālā was the mother of Pritvīmalla, his sister was Chandramāllā and his queens were Dharmamālā and Dīpamālā. Ratnamālā was the queen of Malayavarmā (App. B-38).

The kings and nobles kept many wives and concubines. Sometimes, wives and daughters of the defeated kings were also taken forcibly. The Gopeśvara trident inscription of Aśokachalla bears witness to this fact. Among the thirty taxes, one *jārikar* is also mentioned (App. C). The word *jāri* denotes that women had the right to divorce. But this right was probably confined to the lower starta of the society. The slavery of women was in vogue. But the Brāhmaṇa women were never to be enslaved (App. B-26). A tax called *muḍālī* is recorded in some land grant certificates. The meaning of *muḍa* is head, and most probably *muḍāli* was a tax imposed on women of certain Himalayan tribes (App. C).

No evidence is found as regards the female education. A few references regarding to the religious activities of women are available. Śirā, the mother of Krāchalla, was the protectress and benefactress of cows and Brāhmaṇas. Sāukā Karkyānī and her husband built a temple of Buddha during the time of Aśokachalla (App. B-6; Fig. IX).

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The Followers of Buddhism and Hinduism

Western Nepal was the contact zone of Hindu and Buddhist civilisations. During the early medieval period, Buddhism was flourishing in Tibet while it was being uprooted from the plains of India due to the renaissance of Hinduism. But, at the same time, both religions were flourishing in Western Nepal.

In the north of the Himalayas, during the seventh century, Tibet emerged as a strong and unified kingdom under the leadership of Srong-tsan Gampo. By then, Tibetan people adopted Buddhism. Many Buddhist scholars from Nepal and India were invited to preach religion in Tibet. Buddhism prospered by the fostering care of Srong-tsan Gampo and his successors. Many monasteries were established in Tibet for the propagation of Buddhism. Among them, the Śākya monastery of Western Tibet was one of the principal seats of Buddhist learning. But Tibet fell into great disorder after the assassination of Lang Darma in 842. Following the disturbances in Tibet, some Khaśas reached South-Western Tibet, and in course of time the Khaśa chiefs emerged as the ruling kings. They were the forefathers of Nāgarāja, the founder of the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal. The Khaśa who came in the contact with the Tibetan Buddhists adopted Buddhism.

There are many evidences to suggest that the Khaśas adopted Buddhism only when they came in contact with Tibetan Buddhists. Tibetan chronicles notice that Nāgarājā and Devarāja, who had Saṅskritised names, had been Buddhist monks in Tibet (App. A). The Buddhist chant '*oṁ maṇi padme huṁ*' which is usually found inscribed at the top of stone pillar inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom, is written in Tibetan script Fig. I). Tibetan impressions are also reflected in the art and architecture of the Karnali region. The clay-tablets found in Sinja (Figs. VII and XX) resemble the Tibetan clay-tablets belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[3]

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The Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism which originated in Bengal was adopted by the Tibetans later on. It had great impact on the religious life of the people of the Karnali region during the early medievāl period.

Nāgarāja and his successors were the ardent devotees of the Lord Buddha. The feudals and courtiers like Saunā Kārkī, Yaśovarmā, Devavarmā and Malayavarmā also had shown their deep respect to Buddhism (App. B–6, 23, 24, 25, 38). Buddhist art and architecture are commonly found in the Karnali region. King Prithvīmalla who ruled the country during the later phase, built many Chaityas but no Hindu temples. All the architectural works of that period, except the Vināyaka Pañchadeval of Akṣayamalla, are related to Buddhism. In the land grant certificates issued in the names of the Hindu Brāhmaṇas and drafted also by the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhism found a due place. The trinity of Buddhism (Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha) is the witness of the land grants. The prominent kings like Krāchalla, Aśokachalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla have stated themselves as *parama-saugata*, the great devotee of Lord Buddha. Therefore, Buddhism seems to have been the court religion of the Khaśa Kingdom.

However, there was no discrimination between Hindus and Buddhists. The Khaśa kings were extremely tolerant in the matter of religion. The Brāhmaṇas declared the Khaśa rulers as the living incarnation of Divine Viṣṇu. By the efforts of the Brāhmaṇas, Hinduism began to prosper in the kingdom. From the epigraphic evidences it appears that Hinduism was also gaining ground in the court of the Khaśa Kingdom since the reign of Krāchalla (1207–1223).

The Bāleśvara temple inscription of Krāchalla provides an example of the religious toleration of the Khaśa rulers. The inscription mentions Krāchalla as an ardent devotee of Lord Buddha *(parama-saugata)*. At the same time he equally revered Ekrudra Bāleśvara, the Hindu deity, by offering worship and donating land. The inscription states, "The donor of lands

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gains (the favour) of Āditya, Varuṇa, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, as also of Soma, Hutāsana and the god holding the trident in his hand." Furthermore, the inscription endows Krāchalla with all the qualities of the Hindu legendary heroes such as Rāma, Bhīṣma and Dharma (App. B-1). His mother Śirā, as the same inscription states, was the protectress and benefactress of cows and Brāhmaṇas. According to a chronicle of Tibet, Krāchalla had established an image of Maitreya and Mañjuśrī made of gold (App. A).

Aśokachalla is addressed as *abhinava bodhisatvāvatāra*, the recent incarnation of Bodhisatva, in his inscription of Gopeśvara. Other two inscriptions mention him as *pravara mahāyāna yāyinaḥ*, the staunch follower of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism. (App. B 2, 3, 4). His teacher Mūśala, his younger brother Daśāratha and his courtiers were also Buddhists. Many Buddhist scholars like Guchapathi of Kashmir, had got patronage in his court. He established an image of Buddha in Bodh Gaya and an arrangement was made by him to offer regular worship to Mahābodhi. Though Aśokachalla was the follower of Buddhism, he had the great respect for the Hindu deities. For instance, he had erected tridents (the arm of Śiva) in Garhwal (App. B–2, 5).

The Khaśa rulers had attacked the valley of Nepal on a number of occasions. They fired the cities, looted the wealth of royal palace and people but Hindu temples and Buddhist shrines were respected by them. Jitārimalla and Ripumalla offered worship and treasury to Paśupatinātha, Matsyendranātha and Svayaṁbhūnātha. Ripumalla visited Lumbini and Kapilvastu *en route* from Sinja to Kathmandu (App. B–11, 13),

The use of '*Oṁ maṇi padme huṁ*' is fonud in the Lumbini Kapilvastu inscriptions of Ripumalla. This Buddhist chant is usually found inscribed at the top of the stone pillar inscriptions of the Khaśa rulers. The followers of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism whirl the *Dharmachakra* and count the series of

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beads muttering this chant. Accordingly, Ripumalla, Tārādevī, Prithvīmalla, Yaśovarmā, Devavarmā, Jayasiṁha and Malayavarmā inscribed this chant at the top of their stone inscriptions which testifies their faith in Buddhism.[4] Ripumalla was a very religious and learned king. He had copied a Buddhist text entitled *Laghuratnatraya* (App. B-14). Another Buddhist text, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra,* found in a monastery of Tibet and copied from Surkhet in 1370 B.S., mentions him as *Rājarājeśvara Lokeśvara* (App. B-12). Ādityamalla in his boyhood lived at the Śākya monastery of Western Tibet for sometime. Pratāpamalla chose to be a monk rather than a king.[5]

Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla state themselves as the great devotees of Lord Buddha, but they were committed to rule according to the ethics and polity of holy Hindu texts. Golhaṇa, the teacher of Prithvīmalla, was a Brāhmaṇa. Many learned Hindu scholars got patronage in the court. Since the reign of Prithvīmalla (1338-1358), orthodox Hindu gods like Brahmā. Viṣṇu and Śiva were introduced as the witnesses of the land grants. However, even after Prithvīmalla, Buddhism maintained its position in the court. Abhayamalla and Malayavarmā bulilt a Buddhist monastery consisting of eighteen *Gombās* in Khojarnātha.[6]

After the fall of the Khaśa Kingdom, Hinduism began to supercede Buddhism. Due to lack of fostering care of the Bāisī and Chaubisī rulers, the influence of Buddhism slowly declined and was confined only to the higher Himalayan valleys.

The Places of Pilgrimage

Mount Kailāśa, the abode of Śiva, the holy Mānasa lake (Mānasarovar) of Western Tibet, situated at the altitude of about 14,000 feet and Khojaranātha (Khecharatīrtha of Saṅskrit literature) were and are still the most sacred places of pilgrimages for both the Hindu and the Buddhists. Hindu pilgrims from the south used to visit these places after travers-

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ing the difficult passes of snowy range. The chronicle of Râskoṭ mentions that Malayavarmā had built a big monastery in Khojaranātha.

Having many sacred centres in its surroundings, Dullu was venerated as a holy place of pilgrimage at that time. The holy sites–Śirasthāna, Nāvisthāna and Pādukāsthāna were called *trayavaiśvānarajvālākṣetra*, three centres of Agni or the god of fire, where natural gas flames were burning constantly shooting from the ground (Fig. 7b). Among them, two are burning till now and one (of Pādukâsthân) is extinguished. An inscription of Prithvîmalla mentions Durlaṅghyanagara (Dullu) as *paramapāvana*, the most holy place. Prithvîmalla had introduced a fair called *Harisaṅkari* in the aforesaid holy sites of Dullu (App. B-30). Kâṅkrevihār of Surkhet was also an important religious centre of Buddhist pilgrimages. Today only the heaps of ruins of that great Vihār are lying scattered (Figs. 3, 10, 13, 22, 23). But they help to discover a highly flourished civilisation of the historic past.

The religious importance of Lumbini and Kapilvastu was not the less. King Ripumalla visited these sites *en route* Sinja to Kathmandu. Khojarnāth and Śâkya monastery of Western Tibet were renowned centres of Buddhist pilgrimage. Many Buddhist pilgrims of Tibet used to visit Lumbinī, Kapilvastu, Sâranāth and Bodh Gayā through the trans-Himalayan route which passed via. Siñjā and Dullu. Badarīnāth, Kedāranāth and Muktināth were other important holy sites. The insriptions of the Jumlā Kingdom contain the expressions like *śrī śrī badarīnātha jayati* and *muktinātha sahāya.*[7] The deity of Muktināth was venerated as the *Lokeśvara* by the Buddhists and as *Nārāyaṇa* by the Hindus.

Ceremonies and Festivals

The *karmakāṇḍa*, the Hindu science of rituals, had prescribed various ceremonies to be performed in the Hindu society. Even the Buddhist kings, courtiers and officials followed the

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Hindu customs and traditions. An inscription of Malayavarmā, dated 1389, mentions *uljo*, *mailo*, *sarādhya*, *dāsai* and *tiyār* (App. B–40). *Uijo* denotes the Hindu *saṁskāras* like *nvārana* (name giving ceremony), *vratabandha* (the sacred thread investure ceremony of twice–born Hindu castes) and marriage. *Mailo* denotes funeral rites. *Daśaiñ* and *Tiyār* (Tihāra) are the names of Hindu festivals. The *Harisaṅkaritātrā* was a religious ceremony held on the first day of the month of Mārge when prople used to visit the three holy sites of Dullu (App. B–30). There seems no discrimination between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism as Hari and Śaṅkari jointly denote a ceremony. *Kuśe Auṁsī*, *Chaite Daśaiñ*, *Meṣa Soṁkrānti*, *Karkaṭa Saṁkrānti*, *Makara Saṁkrānti* and *Bauddha Pūrṇimā* are some other traditional festivals of Western Nepal.

Education and Learning

Epigraphic records show that the Khaśa kings and their courtiers, Brāhmaṇas and other administrative functionaries were educated. But no evidence throws light on the education of women and ordinary people. Brāhmaṇas were the teachers, astrologers and priests. The Kumaon inscription of Krāchalla states that a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Nārāyṇa was well versed in many branches of knowledge (App. B–1). The titles of contemporary Brāhmaṇas such a *Ächārya* (professor), *Upādhyāya* (preceptor), *Joisī* (astrologer) and *Paṇḍita* (learned person) tend to show that the Brāhmaṇas were highly educated. The Hindu Brāhmaṇas as well as Buddhist monks had adorned the court of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The eulogy makers of Puṇyamalla, Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla such as Golhaṇa Joisī, Śivadeva Paṇḍita, Juṭhādeva Joisī, Dharmarāja Joisī were the learned Brāhmaṇas who possessed profound knowledge of Saṅskrit language. These eulogies are written in highly florid Saṅskrit. Sumati, the composer of the Dullu pillar inscription, Iṣṭidāsa and Dharmadāsa were other educated persons having excellent knowledge of Saṅskrit. (App. B–23, 24).

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The kings were not only skilled in the science of warfare (*śastra*). but also well versed in ethics and polity (*śāstra*). Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla are said to have possessed such kinds of knowledge. An inscription of Sinja writes that king Ripumalla, inspired by the meditation of *Lokanātha*. copied a book, *Laghuratnatraya*, which 'tended to fulfil áll human desires'. (App. B–14). A manuscript of *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* had been copied in 1313 from Surkhet by his inspiration (App. B-12). Though the educated Brāhmṇas and Kṣatriya aristocrats possessed knowledge of Saṅskrit language, the ordinary people were ignorant of it. So the *kanakapatra* and copper plate charters were partly written in varnacular language. The varnacular language was the eastern Pahāḍī or the Siñjālī section of Khaśa language.

The Origin and Development of the Siñjālī Language

As discussed earlier, the Khaśas were non-Vedic Āryans. They entered the Indian sub-continent from the north-west around the beginning of the first millennium B.C.. While they were in central Asia, they had their own language which was an offshoot of the ancient Iranian language. But their language was not as prosperous as Saṅskrit of their Vedic Āryan predecessors who entered India before them. The Khaśas came as conquerors in groups. The language and its speakers could not be separated. Their language also came with them. However, it is obivious that in course of their movements from Afganistan to Nepal, their language was much influenced by the Saṅskrit language. Both of the languages, the Vedic-Saṅskrit and the Khaśa, owe their origin to the ancient Iranian language of central Asia.

The Khaśas inhabited in the north-western hill (Pahāḍī) region of the Indian sub-continent. Therefore, the Khaśa language is known as Pahāḍī language also. It can be categorised as follows:[8]

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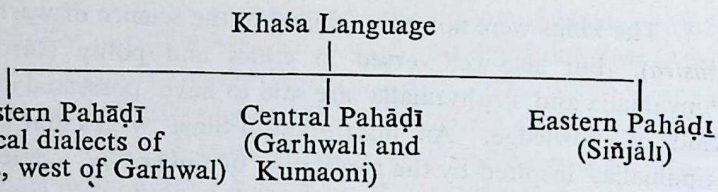

During the early medieval period, the main seat of the Khaś-Āryan people who spoke the eastern branch of the Khaśa language was Siñjā. Therefore, the eastern Pahāḍī can be called Siñjālī also. This language began to prosper when the Khaśas established their kingdom in Western Nepal and made it the official language of their kingdom. The first authentic documents of the Siñjālī language, available so far, is inscribed in a stone pillar of Pādukāsthān, Dullu, during the time of Aśokachalla (1225–1278). This inscription (Fig. 1) reads :

(1) Oṁ namo Buddhayeḥ | sri
(2) Asokachchalladeva schi (3) raṁ jayatuḥ | Saunā Kā
(4) rki Sāūkā Karkyāniko (5) devalaḥ |

Most of the copper plates and all *kanakapatras* of the Khaśa Kingdom are written partly in Saṅskrit and partly in the Siñjālī language. But the main text is inscribed in the vernacular (Siñjālī) language. Two copper plate charters of Ādityamalla and Puṇyamalla, issued for the Tibetan speaking areas, are found written partly in Siñjālī and partly in Tibetan.[9] Saṅskrit was popular among the priests and *Paṇḍits*, and all the Hindu rituals were performed following the Saṅskrit holy texts. But Siñjālī was the language understood by the people in general except the Tibetan immigrants of the Himalayas.

The Khaśa rulers contributed much to the development of the Sinjālī language by making it the medium of the official correspondence. Even after the collapse of the Khaśa Kingdom, it became the state language of all the Bāisī and Chaubisī principalities. After the conquest of them by the Gorkhāli rulers, the Siñjali language began to be called the

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Gorkhā Bhāṣā (Gorkhā language). Later on, the Sinjālī branch of the Khaśa language became the national language of the kingdom of Nepal.

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3. G. Tucci, *Trans-Himalaya* (translated from the French by James Hoarth) (London : Barrie and Jenkin, 1973), pp. 104–112.
4. *Appendix*, B 11, 13, 23, 27, 28 and 38. An inscription of Ghoḍāsaiñ village of Achhām reads, "Oṁ mani padme huṁ Śrī Tārādevīśchiraṁ jayatu".
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ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

CHAPTER FIVE

Due to want of adequate data, a systematic study of the economic history of the Khaśa kingdom is far from being possible. The following account is primarily based on the fragmentary references of the inscriptions so far available. The people had adopted various occupations. The chief means of their subsistence were agriculture, animal husbandry, industries and trade.

Land Tenure System

The main occupation of the people was agriculture. So the arable lands were of great importance. Even the Brāhmaṇas, engaged in religious activities, were desirous of acquiring *Birtā* lands from the state. Obiviously, land was the mirrior of social status. The land within the domain of the state was considered the property of the king. Only when the king used to bestow land on others, the proprietry right was shifted to individuals. The forms of land tenure prevalent at that time may be categorised as *Serā, Raikar, Guthī, Birtā and Jāgīr.*

Serā—During the eighteenth century in Nepal, "Raikar lands which were appropriated by the crown for meeting the foodgrain and other requirements of the royal palace household were called *Sera.*"[1] An official known as *Adai* was the in charge of functions relating the *Serā* land[2] The *Adai* figures prominently in the land grant certificates of the Khaśa Kingdom (App. B–26). During the days of the Khaśa Kingdom, this officer was, probably, the supervisor of *Serā* lands. It appears that there were many *Serā* lands the agricultural

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produces of which were appropriated by the royal family. For instance, a terraced field near the Sinja royal palace area is called *Serā* even today.

Raikar—The inscriptions mention that the king was called *Rāi*. People could cultivate land paying tax to the king or state. Hence, the *Kar* (tax) taken by the *Rāi* (king) was *Raikar*, and the land which was taxed by the state was known as *Raikar* land. The land grant certificates of the Khaśa Kingdom mention the term '*kut*' as a tax. The private individuals who cultivated *Raikar* lands had to pay tax to the state in the form of *kut* (rent). They had only the cultivating right and the ultimate right of the *Raikar* lands was vested on the state. If the ownership of the *Raikar* lands were divestituted in the form of *Birtā* or *Guthī*, the cultivators had to pay rent to the *Birtā* holders or *Guthī* institutions.

Guthī—*Guthī* refers to the institutional land ownership. The lands granted for the use of religious and charitable institutions were known as *Guthi* lands in Nepal during the medieval period and after. The Bāleśvara temple inscription of Krāchalla provides an evidence to the institutional land owner ship. King Krāchalla bestowed a land grant of large holding with all revenues derived from it to the Ekrudra Bāleśvara addressing the learned person, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, who was the worshipper of that deity (APp. B–1). The grant was made to meet the expences of the Bāleśvara temple.

Birtā—The land endowment with the exemption of all taxes made to certain individuals, espeicially to Brāhmaṇas for their livelihood was called *vritti*. *Birtā* is the perverted form of *vritti*. The *Birtā* land tenure system was extensively prevalent in the Khaśa Kingdom. The Brahmaṇas who had approach to the royal palace got large *Birtā* holdings from the kings. The *Birtā* lands received by the descendatns of Vidyākara from Puṇyamalla and by Golhaṇa Joisī from Prithvīmalla were of large size whīle Jayabrahma Joisī got a small plot of *Birtā*

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land from Abhayamalla (App B-19, 20. 26, 34, 35). Certainly, the large *Birtā* holders did not cultivate their lands themselves. They could collect various taxes and rents from the peasants who cultivated their *Birtā* lands. Traditional Saṅskrit literature advocated to donate lands to Brāhmaṇas, teachers, priests and religious and charitable institutions. The land grant certificates state that anyone who donated land would live in heaven for 60,000 years. Thus the religious interest was the main factor for prevalence of *Birtā* and *Guthī* land tenure systems.

Jāgīr—M.C. Regmi points out, "The form of land tenure known as *Jagir* came into being (in Nepal during the 18th century) when revenues on land were assigned as emoluments to government employees and functionaries."[3] Some faint references denote that the system of *Jāgir* land tenure was pravalent in the Khaśa Kingdom. For example, two inscriptions of some later period (1450 A. D,) found in Jumla, record *Rokāyā Ālo* (field of the Rokāyā), which was probably a *Jāgīr* land given to the *Rokāyā* as his emolument by the state.[4] The *Rokāyā* was a functionary of the village administration. The fiscal character of the Khaśa Kingdom was non-monetised. Therefore, it appears that *Raikar* lands were assigned as *Jāgir* to various employees and functionaries of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Trade with India and Tibet

The main trans-Himalayan trade route connecting India and Tibet through Western Nepal passes along the course of the Karnali river via Siñja and Dullu. Contemporary records mention that Sinja had become an important trade centre during the days of the Khaśa Kingdom. (App. B-19). Ācharya Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* mentions two kinds of woolen blankets, *Bhiṅgisī* and *Apasārakā*, exported from Nepal.[5] No evidence bears testimony of sheep rearing in the valley of Nepal. Therefore, these blankets might have been exported from the Karnali region which was an important wool produ-

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cing centre from the early period. Among the thirty six taxes of the Khaśa Kingdom, *Pākhokar* (tax on blankets) was one (App. C). The state derived considerable amount of income from the taxes levied on the export of wollen products. The main items exported from the Khaśa Kingdom towards the plains of India were : wool, woolen clothes, herbs, horses of noble breeding, falcon and musk of the deer. The Khaśa Kingdom imported the items such as silk clothes, spices and salt from India. This kingdom exported foodgrains, cotton clothes, pepper, chilli and some other items to Tibet. Among the major articles imported from Tibet included wool, woolen clothes, salt. sheep, horses, gold and silver,[6]

The falcon and musk of the deer were the special items to export towards India from the hills of Far–Western Nepal through the ages. A tamed falcon could bring its prey to its master. So people tamed and kept it. Even at present, there are some places called *Bājthalā*, the spots to capture falcons. People of Far–Western Nepal have many stories about the taming and exporting falcons to India. The musk of the male deer was, as now, of great importance for medical purpose. Even at present, the Jumlī musk is well known for its high quality. From the early period, Jumla was a renowned musk producing centre. There was special demand of the Jumlī musk in the Indian markets. So the export of the musk was one of the most profitable business. The upper class people were also interested in it. An evidence of some later period mentions that Arjun Buḍā acquired land from the king Muktisāhi and Silimsāhī by presenting *purso kathuro* (male must deer) to them.[7] A *kanakapatra* of Puṇyamalla while describing the city of Sinja, writes that the merchants living in their shops were happy (App. B–19). This statement signifies that the condition of trade in kingdom was good and Sinja was one of the main trade centres.

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Medium of Exchange, Weight and Measures

The coins of the Khaśa Kingdom are not found so far. No record is available relating to the minting of coins in the kingdom. The *kanakapatra* of Prithvīmalla refers to the use of coins but it is not certain whether they were exported from outside. It is known that *suvarṇa, ṭakī* and *dām* were the units of coins in circulation. (App. B–26). The *suvarṇa* was the unit of gold coin, *ṭakī* was of silver and *dām* was of copper. *Suvarṇa* and *dām* were the highest and lowest denominations of the currency. But the calculation of these units is not clear.

Although the circulation of gold, silver and copper coins was not unknown, however, the barter system appears to have been predominent. The copper plate charters of Ādityamalla and Puṇyamalla found from the Taghwai monastary mention that one *dhārni* and 100 *tolās* of gold was to be taken as fine for disobeying the royal orders (App. B–17, 18). If coins were in wide circulation, fine would not have been taken in kind. Some information about weights and measurements could be found from the contemporary records. As pointed out above, the terms of *tolā* and *dhārnī* were used to denote the quantity of gold. This testifies that *tolā*, *seer* and *dhārnī* were the measures to weight the quantity of matter. According to the system prevailing from the medieval period in Nepal's western hills, the calculation of avoirdupois weight was :

28 tolās = 1 seer
8 seers = 1 dhārni (2240 grams)

The *kanakapatra* of Prithvīmalla mentions that one who resumes even one *aṅgula* of (*Birtā*) land would suffer the agony of hell. Therefore, it appears that *aṅgula,, bittā* and *hāta* were the units of the linear measurements :

12 aṅgulas = 1 bittā
2 bittās = 1 hāta (18 inches)

Similarly, some terms like *muṭho* and *mānu* are mentioned in the *kanakapatra* of Prithvīmalla. These units were

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used to measure the quantity of grains and liquid things. The volumetric measurements would have been as follows :

10 muṭhīs = 1 mānā
8 mānās = 1 pāthī
20 pāthīs = 1 murī (approxmately 3.00 cubic feet)

Some terms that denote the types of lands and system of land measurement are also known from the inscriptions. They are : *ālo*, *ālā*, *ālikā*, *ṭālo* and *suwārā*.[8] *Ālo*, *ālā* and *ālikā* denote paddy field. The unirrigated land where crops like maise, millet and buck-wheat were grown was called *ṭālo*, and *suwārā* was the terraced land of the same type. Yogi Naraharinath writes that one *ālo* was equal to 25 *ropanīs* (1,36,900 sq. ft.)[9]. *Ālā* was the plural form of *ālo* and the Saṅskrit version of *ālā* is *ālikā*.

Sources of Revenue

The land grant charters of the Khaśa Kingdom mention various kinds of taxes collectively known as *chhattiskar* (thirty-six taxes). The Brāhmaṇas who acquired *Birtā* lands from the kings were also exempted from those taxes. Judicial fines, punishments, forced labour and obligations were also included in the thirty-six taxes. King was considered the owner of the land and water in his kingdom. Therefore, tax on the products of the earth was a sort of rent in return. Many kinds of taxes, regular and occasional, are known from the inscriptions. However, the mainstay of finance continued to be the land revenue. The *kut* which literally means 'rent on land' was the main source of the income of the Khaśa Kingdom. In ancient Nepal and India, the tax on land was usually called *bhāga* (share), which was a fixed proportion of crop.[10] The *kut* appears to have been the same kind of tax as *bhāga* (App. C). The proportion perhaps varied according to the quality of land, irrigational facilities and the need of the state.

There were the taxes levied on cattle and other live-stock, and agricultural, dairy and industrial products. Tax

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on domesticated animals and fowls was called *bhoga* in ancient Nepal.[11] In the Khaśa Kingdom, tax an cattle and other livestock was known as *jiu*. (App. C). Besides, there were taxes levied on dairy produce such as milk, curd, and ghee. These taxes and tax on honey were called *chaunī* taxes (App. C) In addition to the regular land tax known as *kut*, there was a tax called *maunī* which was levied on seasonal agricultural produce such as vegetables and fruits. Another tax on agricultural produce was *rubo* (tax on cotton). *Pulo* was also a kind of land tax levied on grass and grazing lands. *Suto* (tax on cotton thread) and *pākho* (tax on woolen cloths) were the taxes on industrial produce (App. C).

In ancient Nepal, tax on trade was known as *kar*.[12] In the Khaśa Kingdom, the *kar* probably included taxes on shops and merchandies, and tolls on roads. House tax called *kuḍiyo* was also levied upon common people. The regular taxes known as *kut, jiu, kar* and *kuḍiyo* which fell upon the masses would have yielded considerable income to the Khaśa Kingdom. The term *moḍa aputāli* denotes that state had also claimed reversion of the property of those dying without heir.

Other taxes called *jārī, muḍālī, uiḍo* or *uhāro, mānu-muṭho, dubāuñ* or *dubāro, pithāyo* or *poṭalo, jhyāñpā guphyāñ* and *kaḍito* were the lesser and occasional (App. C). There were also liabilities to forced and unpaid labour known as *beth-bāulo, sewā, dhārā* and *ropāiro* (App. C). Services in labour and gifts were expected by the kings and his officers on tour. *Bandanāchāra* or *dekhanī* and *chhapardām* fall on this category (App. C). Many of the taxes and forced labour were also paid to the village headmen, *Birtā* holders and local feudals. Beside various kinds of taxes and services in labour, state derived considerable income from the tribute paid by the vassal chiefs. Sometimes, the Khaśa kings extorted money and riches from defeated kings.

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5. B. P. Gairola, *Koutilyakā Arthaśāstra* (Varanasi : The Chaukhambā Vidyā Bhavan, 1962). p. 162
6. No data of exported and imported goods is available from the contemporary records. However, it can be inferred from the background of geographical situation, local traditions, the state of trade during the time of the Bāisī principalities and availability and non-availability of materials that the trade was carried on as mentioned above.
7. Yogi Naraharinath, n.4, pp. 126–127.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 50, 70. 104, 120,
9. *Ibid*, p. 52.
10. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, *Lichhavī kālkā Abhilekh* (Kathmandu : I N A S, 2030 B.S.), p. 92.
11. *Ibid*
12. *Ibiḍ*

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ART AND ARCHITECTURE

CHAPTER SIX

With the foundation of the Khaśa Kingdom, the art and architecture began to prosper in Western Nepal. The political consolidation achieved under the leadership of the Khaśa rulers led to the economic and cultural development of the region. The economic and cultural development helped the development of the art and architecture. The art and architecture of the Karnali region had been influenced by both the Indian and Tibetan styles. The Khaśas had come in contact with the Tibetan Buddhists even before the foundation of their kingdom in Western Nepal. Therefore, the Buddhist iconography and architecture of the region largely bore the Tibetan impression. In those days, the Śākya monastery of Western Tibet was one of the principal centres of Buddhist learning and art. The Brāhmaṇical architecture began to flourish in Western Nepal only after Kumaon came under the control of the Khaśa rulers of Sinja. In fact, it was an extension of the Kumaon architecture.

Statement of the Time

Most of the temples, stupas and sculptures of the Karnali region are undated. The first temple that bears the date of construction is the Vināyak Pañchadeval of Achham built by Akṣayamalla in 1280 (Fig. 9). A Buddhist temple is reported to have been built by Saunā Kārkī and his wife during the reign of Aśokachalla (Fig. 1). The Pātharnāulī of Dullu (Fig. 15) having five votive stupas on its roof was constructed in 1354 (App. B–23). In the same year, another *nāulī* (water-receptacle) having one stupa on its roof was built in Achham

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(App. B-24; Fig. 14). It will be mentioned below that the Kāñkrevihār was also a fine creation of the architectural activity of the Khaśa Kingdom. Though most of the sculptures are undated, there are some clues to fix their approximate time. The image of the Akṣobhya Buddha (Fig. 1) found at Pādukāsthān, Dullu, was made during the reign of Aśoka-challa. The sculptures of three *Paikelās* (Figs. 2, 19, 16) and two lions (Fig. 6) appear to have belonged to the period of the Khaśa Kingdom. The clay tablets found in the caves of Lāmāthāḍā, Sinjā, which contain Buddhist chants, Buddhist images and stupas (Figs. 5, 12,) were made during the period between twelfth and fourteenth century. The script of the Buddhist chant of the tablets resembles the script of the inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom. Some of the stupa symbols of the tablets give their exact parallel to the stupa inscribed on the top of the Dullu pillar inscription. (Fig. 11). Similar clay tablets having Buddhist chants and symbols found in Tibet are mentioned to have belonged to the period between eleventh and fourteenth century.[1]

The Vināyak Pañchadeval of Achham

The Hindu temple constructed in *śikhara* style is called *deval* and a group of five temples are collectively known as Pañchadevals. They are commonly found in the Karnali region. The districts of Jumla, Dailekh, Achham, Doti and Dadeldhura are rich in temples. The Vināyak Pañchadeval built by Akṣayamalla, a member of the Khaśa ruling family, in 1280 is the specimen of the Brāhmaṇical architecture of the Khaśa Kingdom. Among the five temples, one temple of the south-west has totally collapsed and vanished, and four of them are still standing in a mutilated condition (Fig. 9). The central temple contains the inscription of Akṣayamalla on its lintle. (App. B-8).

The Pañchadevals are the temples of five deities of Hindu patheism that is of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya. A *śivalinga* is still found lying in the central temple of Darnā

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(Achhâm). The images of Viṣṇu, Durgâ, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya are enshrined in the four-sided *sukanāsikā* sanctums of the central temple of Mānma Pañchadeval. These images are in crude form. However, they help to identify that the Pañchadevals are none but the temples of Hindu Pāñchāyana gods. As in the sanctums of almost all the central temples of Pāñchādevals the *śivaliṅgas* are enshrined, Śiva Pāñchāyana concept appears predominent in this region from the early period. In most cases, the central temple of the Pañchadevals is the largest structure than its subsidiary temples of its four corners. The temples are built on a platform. They are single structures separately made on rectangular ground plan. P. R. Sharma writes :

> One can divide the temple vertically into three parts. They are from below : the base consisting of the sanctum wall called the Jaṁgha, the superstructure or the tower called the Prasāda or Śikhara and the crowning umbrella-stone called the Āmalaka.[2]

The ground plan of the largest temple of the Vināyak Pañchadeval is of 5.00 feet length and 4.50 feet breadth. The height of the *Jaṁgha* is of 6.00 feet and of the *prasāda* or *śikharā* 13.00 feet. The height of the *āmalaka* and its stand is unknown as this portion has fallen. The remaining height of the temple is 19.00 feet.

All the temples are made of chiselled stone blocks. There is no use of any piece of wood. The masonary work is done with thin layer of lime mortar. Iron nails were used at key-joints of stones to fasten them. The temples are made on an elongated pyramid shape with a flat top and the *āmalakas* are on their finials. Stones used in the temples are carved with flowers and patterns. The lintle and ceiling are also artistically carved. The temples of the Vināyak Pañchadeval are only the remarkable Brāhmanical architecture of the Khaśa Kingdom, remained so far although in a mutilated condition. The architectural and sculptural monuments of Doṭi and Dadeldhura are mainly works of Doti state which emerged after the fall of the Khaśa Kingdom.

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The first dated monument of that area is the Ajayamerhāṭ Panchadeval built by Nāgamalla. the king of Doti, in 1393. Most of the temples of Jumla also belong to the later period. The temple of Biṣṭabāḍā were constructed in 1500[3] and the temple of Ukhāḍī in 1486.[4] Similarly, all the temples of the Dailekh district seem to be constructed during the period of Dullu and Bilaspur states. The Pañchadevals of Darnā (Achham), Mānma (Kalikot), Raskot (Kalikot) and Chilkhāyā (Kalikot) also belong to the later period. However, it is obvious that they all bear the traditional style which was imported in this region from Kumaon during the thirteenth century.

The Kāñkravihār of Surkhet

A large heap of ruins of the Kāñkrevihār is lying on a hill, south of the Surkhet valley. The ruins are scattered over a perimeter of about 400.00 feet. The height of ruins is about 20.00 feet. Large and massive stone block having diverse patterns and figures are lying scattered. Therefore, it can be inferred that a large temple had been built there. The name of the place associated with 'vihār' indicates that the sectarian character of the temple was related to Buddhism. This will be further testified when one sees the figure of Buddha in meditative posture inscribed on the stones at the spot. (Fig. 13).

No records mention the date of the construction of the temple of Kāñkrevihār. Only the style and the religious tradition of the region may help to assign the approximate date of its construction. The style shows that it was an earliest temple of the region. As mentioned above, Buddhism was in a highly flourishing state during the period of the Khaśa Kingdom. King Krāchalla (1207–1223) and Aśokachalla (1255–1278) had done many works of religious merit related to Buddhism. Ruins and stone sculptures of Surkhet mention that this valley was a centre of the Buddhist religious activities during the early medieval period. An inscription of Āsā sāhu and Ruerā-

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devī dated 1292, found in Surkhet, shows that human habitation existed in the valley and religious works were done here at that time (App. B–9). A manuscript of the Buddhist text *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* had been copied from Surkhet in 1313. (App. B–12). Therefore, it can be inferred that the temple of Kāñkrevihār was built in thirteenth century, probably during the reign of Aśokachalla (1255–1278), which were the most glorious days of the Khaśa Kingdom. The temple was made on *śikhara* style. Two miniature towers (Fig. 10) with *āmalaka* seen on the spot were probably overlied the tower of the temple. An image of the flying nymph (Fig. 22). is seen artistically carved on a stone block which was probably projected below the lintle, facing the door-opening. On many other stones, Buddha images with Tārās (Fig. 13), sinuous plant stalks, lotus flowers, associated couples of swans and cranes, and so on are tastefully carved. The ruins indicate that this temple was the most celebrated architecture of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Stupas, the Symbolic Monuments of Buddhism

Many stupas or chaityas constructed during the period of the Khaśa Kingdom are found in the Karnali region, particularly in the districts of Jumla, Dailekh and Achham. Among them, the stupa of Kuchī (Fig. 14) and stupa of Pātharnāulī (Fig. 15) were built in the reign of Prithvīmalla (1238-1251). They are built on the roof the *nāulīs* (watet-receptacles).

The stupa Siriḍhuskā, Jumla, (Fig. 20) exists as an independent object. This stupa contains the Buddhist chant '*oṁ maṇi padme huṁ*' in *Rañjunā* character. The stupas have square plan. Their *garbha* or basement, after raising vertically two to four feet, is stepped reducing above. Then a square cube with a cornice lies on it. Some global. square and circular tiers representing *kalaśa* (dome) and *bhūvanas* (globes) are placed above the square cube. Besides, the stupa of Kuchi has four-sided openings and a girdle of beads around the basement (Fig. 14). The Pātharaāulī stupa is built on the roof of a

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large structure of the *nāulī* (Fig. 15) made of large and massive stone blocks. There were five chaityas made according to the *māṇḍalika* arrangement (App. B 23). But at present only one chaitya exists.

The stupas of Michāgāuñ were constructed in 1482 and 1501.[5] The chaitya symbols are inscribed in many stone pillars including the Kīrtistaṁbha of Dulla (Fig. 11). They have *garbha* (basement), *chhatra* (umbrella), *kalaśa* (dome), *toraṇa* (festoon) and *bhūvanas* (globes). The clay tablets having the chaitya symbols (Fig. 5) represent the Tibetan impression on the Buddhist architecture of the region. They are of the fashion of the Tibetan mC'od rtens (Chhortens). One of the stupa symbols contains a figure of Akṣobhya Buddha inside of it (Fig. 12) while another multi-towered stupa has a figure of Vairochana (Fig. 5). The multi-towered stupa is the distinguished feature of the Buddhist architecture.

SCULPTURES

Sources of information on the iconographical arts of the Khaśa Kingdom are much limited. Some sculptures are found in Dullu, Dailekh Bazar, Baijanath (Achham), Doti and Dadeldhura, but many of them belong to the later period. The icons of Dailekh Bazar are the works belonging to the subsequent centuries of the Gorkha conquest (1789 A. D). The Nārāyaṇa temple of Dailekh Bazar where these icons are enshrined, was built by a Gorkhklī general. Similarly, the icons of Baijanāth fall after fifteenth century onwards. The images of Doti and Dadeldhura including those of Gaurī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī appear to have been the works of Doti state as the first historical monuments of that area. These icons were enshrined in the Ajayamerhāṭ Pañchadeval of Dadeldhura constructed in 1393 by Nāgamalla, the king of Doti.[6] The following images are selected for the study of the sculptural arts of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Icons	*Places*
(1) Akṣobhya Buddha	Pādukāsthān, Dullu.

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(2)	Buddha with Tārās	Kāñkravihār, Surkhet.
(3)	Celestial nymph	,, ,,
(4)	Vairochana of clay-tablet	Lāmātbāḍā, Sinja,
(5)	Avalokiteśvara of clay-tablet	,, ,,
(6)	Tārās of clay-tablet	,, ,,
(7)	Akṣobhya of clay-tablet	,, ,,
(8)	*Paikelās* (warriors)	Pādukāsthān, Dullu.
(9)	Two standing lions	Lāmāthāḍā, Sinja.

Buddhist Sculptures

It is reported that Nāgarāja (?) had established an image of Buddha in Bārāhāṭ (Uttarakāśī).[7] An image of Akṣobhya Buddha (Fig. 1) carved on a stone pillar shaft established by Saunā Kārkī and his wife on the occasion of the inaguration of the temple of Buddha was built by them during the reign of Aśokachalla. This figure of Buddha is represented in the characteristic of *bhūmisarśa mudrā* (earth touching posture). The Buddha sitting on a lotus, decorated with a crown, *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) and *aksamālā* (a girdle of beads arounds the neck). He wears no robe found usually in other Buddha figures, His eyes are half-closed. Similar Buddha figure appears in a clay-tablet found in a cave of lāmāthāḍā, Sinja (Fig. 12).

A Buddha figure respresenting *dhyānamudrā,* the meditative posture, appears depicted in the ruins of Kāñkrevihār (Fig. 13). Two figures of Tārās holding lamp-posts are standing on his two sides. This figure of Buddha wears a diaphanuous robe. Another Buddha figure in meditatıve posture with a standing Tārā is also seen on a roadside pillar of Bhaṇḍārigāuñ, Achham. A stone piller of Itrām, Surkhet, contains the figures of Maitreya, Lokeśvara, Gautama and Tārā.[8]

Buddhist images figure in the clay-tablets found in the caves of Lāmāthāḍā. Sinja One of them contains a Buddha inside of a chaitya symbol. On either side of the chaitya, two figures representing Tārās are sitting on the lotus fiowers (Fig. 12).

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Another clay-tablet shows a figure of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara standing and holding a stalk of lotus in one hand and granting boon or protection with the other (Fig. 12). A figure of Vairochana Buddha is seen in a clay-tablet. The Buddha is placed within the main sanctum of a multi-towered stupa (Fig. 5). P. R. Sharma points out, "Another fragmentary clay-tablet from Sinja shows a four-legged deity standing in *ālidha* posture. It is no doubt a Tāntric divinity most probably either Heruka or Saṁvara, the popular tutelary deity of Tibet."[9] Tibetan impressions are reflected in the Buddhist sculptures of the Karnali region. As regards the clay-tablets, they resemble the Tibetan clay-tablets of the period between eleventh to fourteenth century.[10]

Other Sculptures

A figure of celestial nymph (Fig. 22) appears carved on a stone block of the ruins of Kāñkrevihār. The stone with this figure was most probably placed under the lintle facing the door-opening of the temple. The image is artistically carved. She is stretching her hands and has flying posture. She wears necklace, bangles and *akṣamālā*. Three life-sized stone sculptures of lions are standing in a displaced order on the roadside of the royal palace area of Lāmāthāḍā, Sinja. These animals have large eyes and mouths opened. They might have been placed on either sides of the door-opening of the temple palace. Four figures of *Paikelās* (warriors) appear to have been carved on the stone pillars of Pādukāsthān, Dullu. (Figs 2, 16. 19) They are equipped with sword, spear and armour. One of them is a figure of horse-rider (Fig. 16). The horse is also covered with armour. The pillars contain inscriptions which read as follows.

A. (1) Oṁ svastī
(2) Sidho rā
(3) ut ko
(4) Vira Stiṅ
(5) bhaḥ | |

B. (1) Oṁ svasti
(2) Visu ko
(3) vira staṁbhaḥ | |

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C. (1) Oṁ svasti Dhā
(2) durgālyā
(3) ko vira staṁ
(4) bhaḥ | |

D. (1) Oṁ svasti
(2) Rāte ko
(3) vira
(4) stambhaḥ | |

The above quoted inscriptions show that the pillars were erected in commemoration of the warriors who died fighting. In the Karnali region, many wayside stone pillars show similar figures which could be interpreted in the same way. Other stone pillars containing the symbols of the sun, the moon, stupa and disc are commonly found all over the region. Most of the pillars contain the date of installation ranging thirteenth to fourteenth century.

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2. P. R. Sharma, *Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal* (Paris : CNRS, 1972), p. 24,
3. In front of the temples of Biṣṭabāḍā, there is a stone pillar inscription which reads : Oṁ svasti srī śāke 1422 dhitru rāut ra bam pannā rāwal.....ko dharma.
4. P.R. Sharma, n. 2, p. 24.
5. Some stupas of Michagaun contain the following inscriptions :
   (i) svasti śri sāke 1404 hamiru rāul silamāladei... | |
   (ii) svasti śri sāke 1423 māse 11 tithau 5 vāre 6 sir hitu rāul.. kritam subhamastu | |
6. Ramesh Jung Thapa (ed.). *Ancient Nepal,* No. 30–39, (1975–1977), p. 94, Fig, 1.
7. Rahul Sankritayan, *Himāla Parichaya,* Vol. I, *Garhwal* (Allahabad : Law Journal Press, 1952), p. 112.
8. P.R. Sharma, n. 2, p.28.
9. *Ibid,,*
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RECAPITULATION

The Khaśas were non-Vedic Āryans who had entered the Indian sub-continent from the north-west around the beginning of the first millennium B.C. and became the chief inhabitants of the north-western mountainous region of the Indian sub-continent. It appears that the first Khaśa group arrived in Western Nepal around the middle of the first millennium A. D.. Many of the Khaśas, who came in contact with the Hindus of the Indo-Gangetic plains adopted the Hindu culture. The Khaśas of the priest class became Brāhmaṇas during the early period and some others became Kṣatriyas. The Matwālī-Chhetrīs or the Pābai-Khaś of Far-Western Nepal's hills who did not convert themselves into the Hindu castes are the pure remnants of the ancient Khaśa people.

The Brāhmaṇas, Ṭhakurīs and Chhetrīs of hills and valleys on the southern slope of the Himalayas are known as *Pahāḍī* caste groups. The Brāhmaṇa and Rajput immigrants from the plains of India who preceded or followed the Khaśas have been assimilated in equal social status of the *Pahāḍī* caste hierarchy. Therefore, present Nepālī *Pahāḍī* caste groups are the admixture of the Khaśas and Indo-Āryans. But the greater degree of admixture owes to the Khaśa stock. The dominating bulk of the society of Western Nepal before the Khaśa influx were the Mongoloid people—Guruṅgs and Magars. The Khaśas set the motion for the succeeding Pahāḍī caste domination of the country.

During the early medieval period, the Khaśas established a fairly big kingdom known as *Khaśadeśa*, the Khaśa kingdom. Their kingdom covered a vast territory comprising Western

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Nepal, South-Western Tibet, and Kumaon and Garhwal during its heydays. It was a magnificent achievement conquering the rugged and defiant barriers of nature. Nāgarāja was the Khaśa ruler who founded the Khaśa kingdom in Western Nepal around the beginning of the twelfth century. His successors Krāchalla, Aśokachalla, Jitārimalla, Ripumalla, Ādityamalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla were the prominent rulers of the Khaśa kingdom. After the foundation of their kingdom in the Karnali region, the Khaśa conquerors occupied the fertile basins of the Gandaki region, King Jitārimalla led the Khaśa troops to invade the Nepal Valley for the first time in 1288. From this time onward, the Khaśas invaded the valley of Nepal several times. The kingdom of the Nepal Valley paid the tribute to the Khaśa rulers. The Khaśa kingdom began to crumble down into pieces by the times of Prithvīmalla. After Malayavarmā, it completely collapsed. Though the powerful kingdom vanished from the political horizon, it had lasting impacts on the succeeding society and politics of Nepal.

Most of the family surnames of the Nepālī Pahāḍī caste groups as given in Appendix 'D' were derived from the governmental designations of the Khaśa kingdom, and from the place-names of the Karnali region. This testifies that in the past people of the Pahāḍī caste groups of Nepal were distributed mainly from the Karnali region throughout the kingdom of Nepal.

During the days of the Khaśa kingdom, civil and military functionaries, who were entrusted with the task to maintain order in the Gandaki region, migrated to this region along with the ordinary people because the fertile basins of the seven Gandakis had sufficient attraction for the settlement. The Khaḍgās who were defeated by Drabya Shāha in Gorkhā were probably migrated from the Karnali region. The contemporary records of the Nepal Valley show the influence of

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the Khaśas and the Khaśa language in the Malla kingdoms of Kaṅtipur, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur.[1] The people of the Khaś-Āryan origin penetrated into Eastern Nepal during the days of the Sena kingdom of Pālpa which was extended in the east up to Morang. Prithvīnārāyaṇa Shāha, after his conquest of Eastern Nepal, had also encouraged them to settle there.

The Khaśas were renowned warriors from the early period. It was due to their valour and bravery that they became able to establish a great kingdom in this rugged mountainous region. Even after the collapse of the Khaśa kingdom, the Khaśa Kṣatriyas maintained their morale. The Khaśa soldiers were regarded as the best warriors during the eighteenth century when Prithvīnārāyaṇa Shāha of Gorkhā launched the campaign for the unification of Nepal.[2] The Khaśa soldiers played most important role in the unification of Nepal under the leadership of Prithvīnārāyṇa Shāha and his successors.

The court religion of the Khaśa kingdom was Buddhism. The Khaśa rulers were ardent devotees of the Lord Buddha. Many of the countiers in the kingdom were also Buddhists. But the kings and courtiers were extermely tolerant in the matters of religion, and they had equally respected Hinduism. When Hinduism gained predominant position in this region after the fall of the Khaśa kingdom, the Hindus adopted the same attitude towards Buddhism. The sense of religious toleration and harmony which was developed in the days of the Khaśa kingdom is found to be at the core of the present Nepalese Pahāḍī culture.

The Pāñchāyana cult which was a good combination of different sects of Hinduism such as Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaktism and Sūrya worship was also gaining ground in the Khaśa kingdom. The symbols and images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Devī and Sūrya were enshrined in the Pañchadevals and worshipped together. These Pāñchāyana gods represented by small *śāligrāma* stones are worshipped at home daily

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by the Pahāḍī Brāhmaṇas of Nepal before their morning meal. Even the systems of weights and measurements, and land tenure systems such as *Birtā*, *Guṭhī* and *Raikar* which were adopted in Western Nepal during the days of the Khaśa kingdom, are prevalent in the present Nepalese society. Only, the *Birtā* system was abolished in Nepal in 1959.

One of the most significant impacts of the Khaśa kingdom on modern Nepal was in the field of language. The eastern section of the Khaśa language is known as the Siñjālī or Eastern Pahāḍī. The Khaśa kings made it the state language of their kingdom. Many inscriptions of that period are found written in this language. It also became the state language of all the Bāisī and Chaubisī principalities which emerged after the fall of the Khaśa kingdom. Today, the Siñjālī branch of the Khaśa language has become the national language of Nepal.

The creative assimilation of the language, culture, traditions and population of Khaśas helped the Gorkhālīs in their campaign of the unification of Nepal. All the Bāisī and Chaubisī principalities had the same language, culture, religion and traditions. That's why the conquest of Western Nepal by the Gorkhālīs was not followed by the religious and cultural disturbances. The cultural unification of Western Nepal with high sense of harmony and toleration was achieved under the Khaśa rulers during the early medieval period.

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2. Yogi Naraharinath (ed.), *Prithvīnārāyaṇa Shāhakā Dibyā Upadeśa* (Kathmandu : Yogaprachāriṇī Mahāsabhā, 2016 B.S.), p. 6.

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Appendices

APPENDIX—A

The Kings of Guge

(According to the Dpag-bsam-lion-bzam (p. 52), a chronicle of Tibet).

Source—A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (New Delhi : S. Chand & Co., Reprinted in 1972), p. 169.

Translated from the Tibetan Chronicles

Ḥkhor-re had two sons, viz. Nāga-rā-dza and Deba-rā-dza. Later on the three together (i.e. the father with his two sons) took the sign of monkhood. Although the (religious) name of the father was Ye śes-hod, he became better (easier) known by the names Lo-chen (Paṇḍit) and Mkhan-slob-goig-pa ('only Guru'). When he had entrusted the government to his younger brother Sroṅ-ṅe, the hymns and Vinaya being widely known, the Smritis (śāstras) came at that time. During the reign of Sroṅ-ṅe's son, Lha-lde, Subhuti śrī-śānti was invited (to Tibet from Kashmir). He translated the Śer-phyogs, and Lo-chen's disciples translated many (other books). He had three sons. Of these Ḥod-lde reigned, whilst Byaṅ-chub-bod and Zi-ba-hod, the younger ones, became monks, and invited Lord Atisā (to Tibet). During the reign of Ḥod-lde's son, Rtse-lde, Zi-ba-bzan-po (Śāntibhadra) arrived in Tibet; and, when the wise men of Dbus-Gtsan and Khams had assembled, the great religious council (chos-bkhor-chen-po) of Mṅah-ris took place. His son was Hbar-lde, then Bkrasis-lde, Bha-lde, Nāga-deva; Btsan-phyug-lde went to Ya-tshe (Sinja). His son was Bkra-sis-lde. Then, in order, Grags-btsan-lde, Grags-pa-lde. He erected (an image of) Ḥjam-

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dbyaṅs (Mañjughoṣa) of 70 *bre* (a weight) of gold, a stupa of 24 *bre* (of gold), an (image of) Bde-mchog (Sambara) of 500 (Rupees) of white silver, and (an image) of Byams-pa (Maitreya) of 12000 (Rupees). His son Ā-so-lde, bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-ṅan-med (Aśoka). At that time they belong to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes. His sons were Ḥdzin-dar-rmal and Ān-na-rmal; of these two the latter had the Bkah-hgyur copied in gold. His son Reḥu-rmal conquered many Indian nations; he erected (images of) the eight Sman-bla in silver, and provided golden roofs for the Ḥphrul-snaṅ temple. His son was Saṅ-gha-rmal; and his son was Ḥdzin-dar-rmal. Ḥdzin-dar-rmal's son Ā-hdzin-rmal, first became a monk at Saskya; (then) he became king again. His son was Ka-lan-rmal. With his son, Par-tab-rmal the family of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end. Bsod-nams-ide of (S)pu-raṅs was invited to Ya-tshe, and, when he began to reign, he took the (title of) Puṇ (ya) rmal. His son Pra-ti-rmal and the minister Dpal-ldan-grags-pa (Yaśo-varmā ?) began the Chinese roof (golden roof ?) over the Bcu-gig-zal (Avalokita temple) at Lha-sa.

APPENDIX B

Inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom

The inscription of the Khaśa Kingdom are collected and reproduced in this Appendix. The author is much indebted to the researchers who found out and published these inscriptions in different books and journals. These inscriptions are found in Western Nepal, Western Tibet, Kumaon, Garhwal, and Bodh Gaya.

APPENDIX B—1

The Copper Plate Inscription of Krāchalla

Place—The Bāleśvara Temple, Sūi, Kumaon.
Date—1145 Śāke (1223 A.D.).

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Source—E. T. Atkinson, *Kumaun Hills* (Delhi : Cosmo Publications, Reprint in 1974), pp. 516-518.

Note—This inscription is inscribed on the reverse of the copper plate grant to the Bāleśvara temple made by the Katūrī king Deśaṭadeva. Original text in Sanskrit is not available.

The Translation of the Inscription

Be it auspicious. The prosperous state of Bharauta.

The splendid Sirā ruling in heaven, ever strengthened by her victorious lord, having embraced the goddess of victory resplendent with her precious pearls, dropping from the skulls of her elephantine foes, who were dragged to battle, and killed and felled by the spears of her warriors, vincible only by the lord of heaven, a protectress and benefactress of cows and Brāhmaṇs. Her son was the great hero and king Krāchalla, the most excellent, and chief of all who bear arms or are versed in the sciences, and who was ever inclined to (act of) piety and charity. By his combat with elephants of newly sprouting tusks, with lance, sword, and ropes, Krāchalla, the lord of earth, became equally marvellous with the Pāṇḍavas. He was a devout *Saugata* (Buddhist), and shone like the sun on the lotus of the Jini-kula (it may be read Jijārkula). He was fierce in the strength of his arms, of marked valour, and entitled the most venerable, the lord supreme, and great king of kings, the prosperous Krāchalla Deva, lord of men, who, in the *Vijaya rājya* (realm of victory), now in his possession, has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his own arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kartipura, (Kārtikeyapura) and established our right therein, inspected the land bequeathed by its former kings, all of which, with their revenues, are all now made over to the highly deserving of homage Śrī Bāleśvara, the sole Rudra Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, a Bengali Brāhmaṇa *(bañgaja) Jāgīkebhyam* by means of this grant. Here is a couplet of the king's sister : "The clouds with abundance of rain fill the mountains and rivers, but fame

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the necklace of the world, stretches over the three worlds." The (following) is another couplet of the great queen : "The quality of charity and other virtues is excellent, but more so is she who is addicted to her duties and ever faithfully devoted to her lord, for time is known to have a devouring head." The great king in council with his principal courtiers, viz. :

Srī Yāhad Deva Mandalika,
Srī Vidya Chandra Mandalika,

Srī Srī Chandra Deva Mandalika,
Srī Jaya Sīmha Mandalika,

Srī Hari Raja Rāutta Raja,
Srī Jihala Deva Mandalika,

Srī Anilāditya Rāutta Raja,
Srī Vallāla Deva Mandalika,

Srī Vinaya Chandra Mandalika,
Srī Musā Deva Mandalika,

Having determined with his friends and ministers and well considered the matter as in duty bound, has given the aforesaid grant to the logician, tantrika, counsellor, saintly, forbearing, prudent, renowned in compositions of prose, verse, and poetry in this age of Kali, the poet, connoisseur of the purport of works (books), skilled in the calculation of horoscopes and the like, the son of Nanda, conversant in agury, and renowned in the world. The limits and boundaries there of being Svahāragadi on the east, as far as Kahudakota on the south; as far as Talakota on the west; and as far as Ladhāul on the north. This spot thus bounded on the four sides, and situated in the Sri Kona Desa (corner land), with the mines, valleys and jungles, together with all products thereof, are given over by me by means of this grant, and for its continuance coeval with that of the sun and moon.

(Verses)

All the mighty (princes) who from time to time shall be born in my race, let them as well as other masters of land preserve this (for ever). The donor of lands gains (the favours)

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of Aditya, Varuna, Brahma and Vishnu, as also of Soma, Hutāsana, and the god holding the trident in his hand. When the lands (possessed by) Dilīpa, Nripa and Nahusha have been left behind, they shall never accompany any other monarch (on his demise). Lands have been bequeathed by various kings, beginning with Sagara. Whoever becomes master of land at any time, he reaps the produce thereof. He who receives lands as well as he who grants the same both become meritorious and both in heaven remain. Whoso resumes lands whether given by himself of another,

As a filthy worm for sixty thousand years doth pother;
Whoever steals a gold coin, resumes a villa, or an inch of ground,
Shall dwell in hell as long as offerings are drowned.
No gift is equal to the grant of land, no wealth equal to gift.
No virtue greater than truth, nor sin than falsehood's shift.
The king, one's life, strength and gods deserve most to be regarded by all

So long as the possessor of the place where the lotus loves to exist of the auspicious Krāchalla-deva wanders on the earth, so long may the lotus-abode of the chief of the Kirantis (may be Kirttira) (flourish)-*(Srimat Krāchalladevasya yāvat ambhyajinipati viharatu bhuvi tavat kirāttirasya nripakumudākara)*.

And long as the lord of stars spins on the head of the god holding the Pināka bow, and his dreadful braids of hair are moistened by Ganga's stream.

What was the holder of the Gāndiva bow-merely possessed of valour ? What was the son of Dharma ? What is the lord of wealth ? What was the Rāmabhadra the mighty, and was Kudarpa too before him ? No, never were they such neither in this manner nor in that, as the famed Krāchalla, who is as a gem on the crowns of all the rulers of earth.

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In beauty he resembled the moon and Ratipati.
To the indigent he was the Kalpa-tree.
In valour he was in quality like the gem of Raghu.
In the assamblage of all the qualities he was Bhavānipati.
In bowmanship he was a Rāma or Bhīsma himself.
In justice he was as if born of Dharma.
Krāchalla was a destroyer of his elephantine enemies in the Kaliyuga.
Let our allies, abiding in firm amity, meet with prosperity.
And let the rulers of earth govern her with justice throughout the year.
Let the four articles of polity remain steady with you as a new married bride.

And let the god having the semi-bow as a gem on his crest confer good fortune on mankind. Dated 1145 of the year of the Saka king, the 2nd day of the waning moon of Pausha, Monday, asterism of Pushya. The moon in Cancer, and the sun in Sagittarius; and Saturn following him; Mars in Virgo; Jupiter and Mercury in Scorpio; Venus in Aquarius; the ascending node in Aries; and the descending node in south-east. Written in the prosperous city near Dulu. Welfare to all worlds !

APPENDIX B-2

The Trident Inscription of Aśokachalla

Place—Gopeśvara, Garhwal.

Date—111 (7) 3 Sake (1251 A. D.).

Source—E. T. Atkinson, *Kumaun Hills* (Delhi) : Cosmo Publications, Reprint in 1974), pp. 511-512. Rahul Sanskritayan has published its Hindi translation in *Himal Parichaya,* Vol. I, *Garhwal* (Allahabad : Law Journal Press, 1253), pp. 111—112.

Note—The date of the Gopeśvara trident inscription read by Atkinson seems wrong. It would have

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been correct if it had been 1173 Śāke in stead of 1113 Śāke. Regarding to the name, Atkinson reads 'Anekamalle' but Rahul Sankritayan rightly reads it as Aśokachalla.

The Translation of the Inscription

Om. Be it auspicious. The lord paramount and most venerable king of kings, the fire of whose valour has consumed the swords of his enemies, and the gems of whose nails are deeply tinged with the vermilion on the foreheads of the wives of inimical princes. Who in the depth (of his understanding) and extent of his renown was like the great ocean, and the splendour of the gems of whose footstool flashed on all sides with the collected rays of luminous rubies on the heads of the assemblage of his allies and hostile princes. Who is as a lion amongest royal elephants and a ruler of the land of Dānavas as Vikramāditya had been of Vetāla. Who like Nārāyaṇa uses all princes as his eagles *(garuras)*, and is endued with the three energies. Who is sprung from the family of Gauḍa and is *tilaka* (signet of royalty) to the Vairātha Kula and a recent incarnation of Bodhisata. This is prosperous Aneka Malla (Aśokachalla), the *tilaka* on the rulers of the earth, who with his encompassing forces has subdued Kedāra Bhūmi, and having made his conquered territories as his own province, free of warfare, the lord of earth has erected thereupon his royal edifice Śrī Padmapāda, which he has adorned with everything for his enjoyment, giving of gifts and feasts. In the year of the Śāka king past 1113 (1173) by solar calculation the number of days past is Gaṇapati 12, Friday, the 9th of of moon written by Malla Śrī Rāja Malla, Śrī Iswari Deva, Paṇḍita Śrī Rañjana Deva, and Śrī Chandrodaya Deva, in conjunction with the general and captain.

APPENDIX B—3

The Bodh Gaya Inscription of Aśokachalla

Date—Lakṣmaṇasenasyātīta Era 51 (1255 A.D.).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Source – Binod Bihari, "Two Inscriptions of Bodh Gaya", *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XII (1913-1914). P. 29.

Note—In the end of the inscription there is a figure of an ass ascending upon a female pig.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं नमो वुद्धाय । येधर्म्माहेतुप्रभवाहेतुतेषांतथागतोह्यवदत्
(1) तेषांचयोनि—
2. रोधएवंवादीमहाश्रवणः (महाश्रमणः) ॥ देयधर्म्मायप्रवरमहाजानजायिपः
(महायानयायिनः) पर—
3. मोपाशकसमस्तत्यप्रकृयोपेतमहाराजश्रीमदशोकचल्लदेवस्य (१) यदत्र—
4. पुण्यंतद्भवतु (१) मातापितृपूर्णगमंकृत्वासकलसत्वरासेरनुत्तरज्ञान–
5. फल (ा) वाप्तयइति ॥ कास्मीरपण्डितभदन्तगुचपथीराजगुरूपण्डित-
मुशल–
6. पात्रसंकरदेव । पात्रत्रैलोक्यब्रह्मादिभिः श्रीमद्राजानंवोध–
7. यित्वा । भट्टदामोदरं । भट्टपदुम । शिष्टराघवमहिपुकालप्रहित्य (प्रभृत्या)
8. विहारियंवुद्धप्रतिमासहिताकारिता । यदपरं । नैवेद्यार्थतांदै–
9. तंपैत्तकत्रयं (तच्चै तच्चै त्यकत्रयं) दीपसहितआचन्द्रार्कंयेकेचित–
श्रीमन्महावोधौसि–
10. घलसंघादयेस्तैः प्रत्यहंदेयं । नैवेद्यमिदंसत्यद्वारित्तकल्पि–
11. तकारहरिचंतशुपकारीमामकयोपरिकल्पितमिति ॥
12. श्रीमल्लरव्वणसेनस्यातीतराज्ये सं ५१
13. भाद्रदिने २९

APPENDIX B—4

The Bodh Gaya Inscription of Sahaṇapāla

Date—Lakṣmaṇasenasyātīta Era 74 (1278 A. D.).

Source—Binod Bihari, "Two Inscriptions of Bodh Gaya", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII (1913-1914), p. 30.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओंनमोबुद्धाय ॥ देयधम्मेयिंप्रवरमहायानयायिनः परमोपासकस्यहेवज्र-
2. चरणारविन्दमकरन्द मधुकरफलाकारभूपालवे—
3. श्यामुजग्ङपरनृपतिगरूडनारायणरिपुराजमत्तगजसिंहनिखिलमहीपाल-
4. जनकेत्यादिनिजनिखिलप्रशस्तिसमलङ्कृ—
5. तसपादलक्षशिखरिखसदेशराजाधिराजश्रीमदशोकचल्लकणिष्ठभ्रातृ-
6. श्रीदशरथनामधेयकुमारपा—
7. दपद्मोपजीविभाण्डगारिकसत्यव्रतपरायणदिनिवर्त्तनीयवोधिसत्वचरित-
8. क्षत्रियकुलदीपश्रीसहणपालनामधेय—
9. स्यमहत्तकश्रीचाटव्रह्मसुतस्यमहामहत्तकश्रीमृसिव्रह्मपौत्रस्य (१) यदत्र-
10. पुण्यतद्मवत्वाचार्योपाध्यायमातापि—
11. तृपूर्व्वंगुङमंकृत्वासकलसत्वराशेरनुत्त रज्ञानफलावाप्तयइतिश्रीमल्लक्ष्मण-
12. सेनदेवपादानामतीतराज्ये—
13. सं० ७४ वैशाख वदि १२ गुरौ ॥

APPENDIX B–5

The Trident Inscription of Aśokachalla

Place—Bārāhāt, Garhwal.

Date—X

Source—Bhagawan Lal Indraji, "An Inscription of Gaya", *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X (1881), pp. 345–346.

Note—This inscription is inscribed in a metal trident of 21 feet height in Bārāhāt (Uttarakashi).

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ कृत्वादिग्विजयमहालयमहादेवास्त्रसंस्थाभिमांराज्ये–
श्रीमदशोकचल्लनृपतिः स्तम्भच्छलालीतवान् ॥ पश्चाच्चप्रतिपारोप्यतत्र–
विजयस्तंभंप्रतिष्ठामगादुत्खातप्रतिरोपणंहिमहतांयुक्तंनतानां पुनः ॥

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APPENDIX B—6

A Stone Pillar Inscription during the time of Aśokachalla

Place—Padukasthan, Dullu.
Date—X
Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, *Paśchima Nepālko Aitihāsik Anveṣaṇa* (Kathmandu: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 2043 B.S.), p. 5.
Note—It is the first authentic inscription of the Nepālī language available so far.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओंनमोवुद्धयेः। स्री 2. असोकच्चल्लदेवस्चि 3. रंजयतुः। सउनाका 4. किसाऊकाकर्य्यानिको 5. देवलः

APPENDIX B—7

The Inscription of Clay-Tablet

Place—Simpati, Lamagupha, Sinja.
Date—X
Note—The clay-tablets contain the Buddhist chant similar to that of the Bodh Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla (App. B-3)

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं ये 2. धर्म हेतु प्रह (भ) वा हे 3. तु तेषां तथागतो ह्यवद 4. त् तेषां च यो निरोध एवं 5. वादि महाश्रम 6. णः

APPENDIX B—8

An Inscription of Akṣayamalla

Place—Bināyak Pañchadeval, Achham.
Date—1202 Śāke (1280 A. D.).

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Source—Ramesh Jung Thapa (ed.), *Ancient Nepal*, Nos. 30-39, p. 75.

Note—This inscription is inscribed in the lintle of the central temple of the Vināyak Pañchadeval.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओंस्वस्तिश्रीमत अछेजमम्ल (अक्षयमल्ल) देवस्यसपरिवारा–
चिरंजयतुआत्मन्निमित्तार्थेएकोतारसापुरूषानिमित्तान् जैराजप्रसाद करायो
साके १२०२ सुत्रधार नागदेव नाम कमायो ।

APPENDIX B—9

An Inscription of Asā Sāhu and Rudrā Devī

Place—Birendranagar, Surkhet.

Date—1214 Śāke (1292 A. D.).

Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, "Paśchim Nepālka kehī Aprakāśit Abhilekh". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. VII No. 1 & 2 (1979-80), p. 176.

Note—The stone which contains this inscription is kept on the wall of a newly built temple of Mahāñkāla in Surkhet. Some letters of the inscription are effaced and the legible ones read as follows.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ..... सुरक्षेत्रे....॥ फाल्गुनमासे सुकिलपक्षे 2. .....तिथौ....वारे
५ श्रिसाके १२१४ आसासाहु रूद्रादेई 3. ..... देवल..... ।

APPENDIX B—10

An Inscription of Ājita (Jitāri) malla

Place—Padukasthan, Dullu.

Date—1212 Śāke (1299 A. D.)

Source—Yogi Naraharinath published this inscription in *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu:

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Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.), p. 201. I have also read the original text of the inscription.

Note—Jitarimalla has been named as Ājitamalla in this inscription. Some Tibetan chronicles also mention him as ajidar-rmal. On the other hand, the same king is called Jayatāri by the *Gopāl Vaṁśāvalī*. These documents have orthographical error in mentioning the name of the king.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं सत्बुध 2. शि आजीतम 3. ल्लराजा परिवा 4. र श्चिरंजयतु ···

5. ञ्जिनाथराउत्र 6. शाके १२२१

APPENDIX B—11

The Kapilvastu Inscription of Ripumalla

Date—1234 Śāke (1312 A. D.).

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Rudrākṣaraṇya Mahātmyam* (Kathmandu: Tarak Bahadur Shah, 1880 (Śāka), p. 26.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं मणिपद्मेहुँ ॥ श्रीरिपुमल्लश्चिरंजयतु १२३४ ।

APPENDIX B—12

An Inscription of Ripumalla

Place—This inscription is recorded in the colophon of a manuscript work of *Abhisamayālaṅkārd* preserved in the spon K'an monastery of Tibet.

Date—1370 V. S. (1313 A. D.).

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Source—L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal* (Rome : I M. Eo, 1965), p. 108-109 ff.

Note—This is the first inscription of the Khaśa Kingdom which mentions Vikrama Era.

Transcript of the Inscription

सम्वत् १३७० फाल्गुण वदि २ सनिदिने । सुरक्षेत्रे । राजराजेश्वर–लोकेश्वर श्रीरिपुमल्लदेवराज्ये ।

APPENDIX B—13

The Pillar Inscription of Ripumalla

Place—This inscription is inscribed on the Asokan Pillar of Lumbini.

Date—X

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgna, 2013 B. S.), p. 81.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं मानी पद्मे हुं 2. श्रीरिपुमल्ल श्चिरं जयतुः 3. संग्राम (म) ल्लः जयः

APPENDIX B—14

A Stone Inscription of Ripumalla

Place—Sera, Sinja.

Date—X

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.), p. 80.

Note—Some letters of the inscription are effaced and the legible ones read as follows.

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Transcript of the Inscription

1. ॐ मणिपद्मेहुँ ।। रिपुमल्ल···· 2. ··· रिपुमल्लराजनी (ति)··· लोकेश 3. ··· लिखापिता १ निर्जिताहितपक्षेण रिपुमल्लेनभूभु– 4. साधनीजिनकत्वा ···रिपुमल्ल चिरंजय ।। लोकनाथपदध्यानलघु 5. रत्नत्रयामिधा ।। लिखितारिपुमल्लेन विद्या सर्वार्थ साधनी ।

APPENDIX B–15

The Copper Plate Inscription of Ādityamalla (1)

Source—Dhanaraj soti, Sotigaun, Bajhang.

Date—1238 Śāke (1316 A. D.).

Note—This inscription has been brought to light by Raja Ram Subedi in "Karnālī Pradeśa kā Rājā Ādityamalla ko Śāke 1238 ko Tāmrapatra". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2041 B. S.), p. 117.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति । श्री सेञ्जाशुभस्थाने । समुद्रवंशोद्भव विराटपट्टाधिष्ठित– प्रतिष्ठितेष्ट देवता श्री हेव–
2. ञ्चपादपद्म परिचर्या परायण । राजकंशनारायण । राजभु (ज) वलमल्लाएकांगवीरेत्यादि
3. विविध विरूदावलि विराजमान परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमदादित्य
4. मल्लदेवः सान्तः पुरः सकुमारः सपरिवारश्चिरं जयतु ।। राइका भाषा पसा भै
5. अकड्या कोहि लइन नपावा गाग्रिपाटाका आला ३ अत्रु उपाध्या सिउद्यो
6. उपाध्यां जगद्यो उपाध्यां पसा भया छन् ।। त्वाम्करि सेवांमादत्तछ सधैं भुच
7. भाखा आदित्यमल्लकि शाखा प्रतिपाल । वांम्हनकि शापा भुच । जसाषउन् पायूं

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8. छ । रक्षा सो यो धान् । मेरूस्चलति कल्पान्ते मर्यादा सागरो
गति । प्रतिपन्न महा स
9. त्यं न विचलंति कदाचनः । अत्र शाक्षिण रत्नत्रय ॥
श्री शाके १२३८ मार्गशिर सुदि ॥
10. द्वादश्यां गुरौ लिखित मिति शुभम् ॥

APPENDIX B—16

The Copper Plate Inscription of Ādityamalla (2)

Place—C. D. O. Office, Dailekh.
Date—1243 Śāke (1321 A.D.).
Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, "Paśchim Nepāl kā kehī Aprakāśit Abhilekh", *Contributions to Nepalese Studies,* Vol. VII, No. 1 & 2 (1979-1980), pp. 177-178.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ··· सिञ्जासमावासितशुभस्थाने । दुर्वारदोर्दंडचंडिमसमाक्रान्तदु-
2. दन्तिविराटपीठाधिष्ठितप्रतिष्ठितेष्टदेवतापरिचर्यापरायण ।
राजकंसनारायणरा-
3. जभुजवलमल्लाराजसरस्वतीकंठाभरणराजकोदंडविद्यार्जुन ।
राजप्रतापमार्त
4. डप्रतिज्ञापुरणैकपरशुराम । निस्सीमसाहसवीरवेतालविक्रमादित्यप्रभृति-
5. विरूदावलीविराजमानपरमभट्टाकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदादि-
6. त्यमल्लदेवः सान्तः पुरः सकुमारः सपरिवारश्चिरंजयतु ॥
राइकापाय भाखा ॥
7. पसाकि अक्रि । पंम्घोजोइसिका कान्सा चेलां । पद्मनाभ । धामु
दुहुजना ॥
8. ताम्कु जग्घोभाटको आ १ वोहोरातोला जैसर्मको आ १ वाहितांमाको
आलो १
9. थापाको हुंदो । एति आला सर्वकर अकर दोहोलिकरि पसाकि अक्याछु ॥
10. आदित्यमल्लकि शाखा पसाकर । पंम्घो जोइसिका शाखा भुंचं ।
दिक्करिकूर्म—

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11. कुलाचलफणिपतिविधृतापिचलतिवसुधेयम् । प्रतिपन्नममलभनसानच—
12. लतिपुंसांयुगान्तेपि ॥1॥ श्री शाके १२४३ आश्विन शुदि ३ वृहस्पतिवारे ।

APPENDIX B—17

The Copper Plate Inscription of Ādityamalla (3)

Place—Taghwai Monastery, north of Gorkha.
Date—1243 Śāke (1321 A. D.).
Source—Mohan Prasad Khenal, *Madhyakālin Abhilekh* (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 1-3.
Note—The inscription is written in the vernacular Siñjālī and the Tibetan. The same subject matter has been repeated in both the languages. In this Appendix only the Siñjālī portion of the inscription is included.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीशाके १२४३ श्रीमदादित्यमल्लदेव सपरिवारश्चिरंज-
2. यतु ॥ राइका भाष् पसाकि अक्नि ॥ बास्गावालामासापरिवारि हा—
3. म्रा इछत्रु नास्हो हामि दान्पतिहो हाम्रा रख्या स्वस्ति पायिथान् रक्षा
4. वाछन् कटक् आउदा जादा गुम्वा घच् नकिय ॥ कोहि जेघचकर्
5. त सोनतोला १०० को थारोत्तासुमलोनकु ॥ वरापचल्या वा (भा) षु
6. पसाभइ ॥ आ (मुद्रा)

APPENDIX B—18

The Copper Plate Inscription of Puṇyamalla

Place—Taghwai Monastery, north of Gorkha.
Date—1250 Śāke (1328 A. D.)
Source—Mohan Prasad Khanal, *Madhyakālin Abhilekh* (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 9-10.
Note—In this inscription also the same subject matter has been repeated in the vernacular Siñjālī and the Tibetan. Only the portion of the Siñjālī language is included in this Appendix.

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Transcript of the Inscription

श्री शाके १२५०

1. ओं स्वस्ति । धर्मको निको टा (ठा)कुर पुणमल्लको अ (ा) दिस
2. पूवंतिर लायौ हाहाको मुलिउं पेषक अदिकारी
3. करिकि कमकरं सभुंप्रति काजको घात्यं अडं
4. कटका मानिसौ पासाकियो ताजुगाइं पाख श्वा
5. गिर्य पनि पुर्विलो महारा (ज) को वले विद्यांकरी अ
6. क्नु तेनकारनलागि मुदपात पसाकि
7. यो महाराजको वल विद्यां करूला मृ (भ) नि टासि
8. कुसलिलामा पाटा पम्करी विन्तिकि षो (यो) तसर
9. मयाकियो ताजगापासनर्जापालीसित रूत्नि
10. स्यंगकोरोमूसो भूपालि माउनि चउनि सोत भा
11. त माग्नि कोइ चदूभ हुनं किया महाराजको मुदन
12. लेखत ताहां अइसि विन्ति दोया जो यस लुटपात
13. नलेषतास धार्नि सुनको धारो टासूपत्नलेष जो
14. र्थपुषा जुंला ।

APPENDIX B—19

The Kanakapatra of Puṇyamalla (1)

Date—1258 Śāke (1336 A.D.)

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśamā Saṁdhi-patra Saṅgraha*, Vol. 1 (2022 B. S.), p. 761.

Note—In the end of the inscription, a figure of sword and the name of Puṇyamalla are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ।। सुमेरुसानुसन्निभ्रादभ्राभ्रलिहकनककलशसंशोभितवरविहार मनोहरविपणिश्रे–
2. णिसमुपविष्टसौराज्यसंतुष्टमहाजनतरुणीविहितनृत्योत्सवप्रहतमंजुमुरज जीमूतस्तनि–
3. तप्रमुदितशिखण्डिमण्डलविहिताण्डवाडंवरे । अंवरधुनिवंधुवंधुरवंहीयः समुल्लसद्विमलक–

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4. ल्लोलगिरिकल्लोलिनिलोलकल्लोलहिंदोलखेलन्मरालीपक्षपालीपक्ष विक्षोभविक्षिप्तशिशिरशीक–
5. रासारवाहिगंधवाहावधुनितपूगपुन्नागचंपकाशोककुरवकवकुललवली लवंगसंविद्धमुग्धस्कं–
6. धमाकन्दमंजुलमंजरीरजः पुंजपिंजरितपरिसरे । श्रीमति सेंजभिधानवर नगरे ।। गरुडध्वजावता–
7. रापारसंसारसागरोत्तारसेतुभूतापधनश्रीधनाराधानाधिगतप्राज्यराज्य रक्षाक्षमप्रचंडनिजभुजदंडचं–
8. डिमसमाक्रान्तविराटपींठाधिष्ठितप्रतिष्ठितेष्टदेवतापरिचयपिरायणाराज चक्रनारायणगार्ग्यायण–
9. गौतमात्रिहारितापस्तंवादिधर्मराजनीतिशास्त्रनिपुणाप्रष्ठअपाडराजजग ज्ज्येष्ठराजतारातरणिप्र-
10. भृति विरुदावलि विराजमान परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीमन्पुण्यमल्लदेवाः सा–
11. न्तः पुरपरिवारा सकुमारा श्चिरंजयन्तु ।। श्री शाके १२५८ कात्तिक सुदि बिजयादशम्यां रविवारे पिउथर्पु
12. राजकरि अक्या भाखापसाभै ।। राइको आदेश ।।
13. हुम दांगका पेखक अडै अधिकारि महर मंहतौ समौ
14. प्रति सुना र तामाशासन् कनकपत्रकि भाए करि जयाकर पंडित चतुः सीमापर्यन्त विशुद्ध आचंन्द्रा–
15. र्कस्थायी सर्ववाधाविनिर्मुक्त करि पसाकरि क्या छू पुण्यमल्लकि शाखायो भाषा प्रतिपाल जया–
16. करपंडितंकोपूतनाति भाइ भतिजा चेलिका चेला आदि भूंचन वस्यो रस्यो देखि
17. कोहि उलटा पलटिकर्न नपावन् आप्न उचितैकरि जयाकर पंडितै ढुयन् अत्र
18. साक्षिणौ सूयचिन्द्रमसौ वुद्धधर्मसंहाः । लंवपादानं चत्वारिस्थानानी सर्व-हिताः
19. सर्वभांडागारिणः ।। दिक्करिकुर्मकुलाचलफणि पतिविधृतापि चलति वसुधेयं प्रति -
20. पन्नममलमनसांनचलन्तिपुंसांयुगान्तेपि ।। षष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणां स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः

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21. आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तामेव नरके वसेत् ॥ शत्रुणापि कृतो धर्म पालनीयः प्रयत्न

22. तः शत्रुरेवहि शत्रुः स्याद्धर्मः शत्रुर्नकस्यचित्। लिखितं श्री गोल्हाणेन शिवमस्तु ॥ श्रीः ॥ पुण्यमल्ल मुद्रा)

APPENDIX B—20

The Kanakapatra of Puṇyamalla (2)

Date—1259 Śāke (1337 A. D.).

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśamā Saṁdhi-patra Saṅgraha*, Vol. 1, 2022 B. S.), p. 762.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ समस्तमेदिनीवलयतलमिलदमंदस्फारसंभारसौरम्यसुन्दर-सरलसालतालमालहिन्तालतालिलवलीलवंगपूगपुन्नागचंपकाशोकतिलककुरवक-वकुलसंविद्धमुग्ध स्कंधमाकन्दमंजुलमंजरीरजः पुञ्जपिंजरितपर्याप्तपरिसरे ।

सरससरभसंसल्लपिला विलोलयौवनोद्दामकामकमनीथकामिनीकेलि-चक्रमणरणरणायितकनकनुपुरवाकर्णनाकठोत्कंठिताक्रीडसरसीसुकुशेशयोद्दण्ड-नालकाण्डकण्डुयणकुण्डलितकन्धरालीमरालीमल्लिकापक्षपालीविक्षोभविक्षिप्त-शिशिरशीकरसारवाहिगंधवाहापनीतसुरतभरखिन्नसुप्रसीमन्तिनीनिदाघ शीकर-कणनिकरे ।

करदीकृतकोंकणकर्णाटलाटलाटमुरलकेरलडहालांगवंकालिंगमिथिलमाल-वनेपालगुर्जरजालंधरांध्रप्रमुखमेदिनीनाथससेव्यमानास्थानीनिकेतनाजिरे । श्रीमतिमेंजापुरे ।

परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमसौगतकुलकमलविकाशनैक मार्तण्डः प्रचण्डनिजभुजदण्डचण्डिमाक्रान्तविराटपीठाधिष्ठितप्रतिष्ठितेष्टदेवता-परिचर्यापरायणराजचक्रनारायणः गार्ग्यायणनौतममादिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्रनिपुण-प्रष्ठअपाढराजजगज्ज्येष्ठ । अदीक्षितराजादीक्षाशिक्षागुरूराजातारातरणिप्रभृति-निजविमलविरूदावलीविराजमानधर्मपालमहिपालश्रीपुण्य मल्लदेवः सान्तः पुरस-कुमाराः सुचिरंविजयिनो भवन्तु ॥

श्रीशाके १२५९ वैशाष सुदि १३ रवौ पिउथपुंराज्करि अक्या माणा-पसा मै राइकौ आदेसु ।

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ठिक्यां उकुंका आला २ सांखा रांछुको आलो १ लुसां विन्याको आलो १ कोट मनदेवको आलो १ सभे एकत्र आला ५ स्वर्भानुनाभानुमतिसमुपरक्ते श्रीमत् पुण्यमल्लदेवेन श्री विद्याकरविपश्चिद्भ्यः सर्वतः सर्ववाधाविनिर्मुक्त आलिका पंचकं प्रतिपादितं । सूर्यग्रहण सर्वकर अकर करि आला ५ पसा भया । श्रीपुण्यमल्लकि शाखा प्रतिपाल विद्याकर पंडितं कि शाखा भाइ भतिजो चेलिको चेलो आदि भुंच ।

अत्र साक्षिणः सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ वुद्ध धर्म संहाः चत्वारिलंवपदानंस्थानानि सर्व हिताःभांडागारिणश्च ।

षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेताचानुमन्ताचतान्वेववनरकेवतेत् । यतोधर्मस्ततोजयः । किंवावहुक्तेनेति शुभम् ॥

APPENDNIX B—21

An Inscription of Dharmabhadra Thāpā

Place—Khatyadivada, Bettisgaun, Kalikot.
Date—1260 Śāke (1338 A. D.).
Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II. No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B.S.) p. 45.
Note—This is a stone inscription found in a water-recaptacle of khatyadivada.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीशाके १२६० मासा- 2. नि ॥१॥ तिथय ॥१३॥ श्रीपृथ्वीमल्लदेवः क्षिति 3. परिवारः चिरं जयतु धर्मभद्र थापा सुकृतं 4. .... ।

APPENDIX B—22

The Copper Plate Inscription of Prithvīmalla (1)

Place—Singada, Bajura.
Date—1271 Śāke (1349 A. D.).
Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, *Paśchim Nepālko Aitihāsik Anveṣaṇa* (Kathmandu: C N AS, 2043 B. S.). pp. 8-9.

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Note—In the end of the inscription, the figures of sword, conch, sun and moon, and the letters 'malla prithvi' are also inscribed,

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओंस्वास्ति ।। श्री मतिसेंज्जाभिधानवरनगरीगरूडध्वजारता
2. र संसारसागरोत्तारसेतुभूतापधन श्रीधनाराधनाधिगतप्राज्य
3. राज्यरक्षाक्षम प्रचंडनिजभुजदंडचंडिमसामाक्रांत विराटपी
4. ठाधिष्ठित प्रतिष्ठितेष्ट देवता परिचर्या परायण राजवलि नारा
5. यण गार्ग्यायण गौतामदि प्रणीत राजमीतिशास्त्र प्रवीण प्रष्ठ अ
6. पार....राज जगज्ज्येष्ट अदीक्षितराजदीक्षाशिक्षागुरू राजतारा
7. तरणि प्रभृति विरूदावली विराजमान परमभट्टारक महारा
8. जाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमन्पृथ्वीमल्लदेवपादाः सांतः पुराः
9. सपरिवाराः सर्व्वत्र विजयिनः ।। श्रीशाके १२७१ कार्तिक वहुल
10. एकादश्यां । गुरूवासरे ।। राइको आदेस
11. अकुल्लिका अधिकारी कार्कि प्र
12. ति आ १ सुद्रड़भाट ।आ.।। कदंउंनको. दांमु जोइसि आ १
    सेठिको उम्राका अ
13. धालाको तियालो आस घालि आलो पु-याइ शोभाक्र आ १
    हिरुभाट । राछु भा
14. ठ् एकत्र आ ३ ।। दोहोलि सर्व्वंकर अकर् करि सहड् (द्र)
    भाट । दां
15. मु जोइसि शोभाक्रहिरुभाट राधुभाट पसाकरि अक्या छुं
16. मुडालि पेटाली मोड् अपुतालि कोहि लैन नपाव । यो भाषा पृ-
17. थ्वीमल्लकि शाखा पसाकरि अक्न । सिंघार्डिकि शाखा चेलिकौ
18. चेलो भूच अत्र शाक्षिणः सूर्याचंद्रमसौ. वुद्ध धर्म्मसंघाः र-
19. त्न व (प) द्म राउलाः अछांमि राउला. जुगराज राउल ।

APPENDIX B—23

An Inscription of Devavarmā, Patharnauli, Dullu

Date—1276 Śāke (1354 A. D.),

Source—G. Tucci *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome: I M E O, 1957), p. 45,

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Note—The inscription is engraved on the lintle of the Patharnauli made of large and massive stone blocks. I have also read the inscription at the spot.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं मणि पद्मे हुं

1. ओं स्वस्ति श्री शाके १२७६ पौष वदि २ शुक्रवाशरे महाराजाधिराज-
2. परमेश्वरपरममट्टारकपरमधार्मिक परमकल्पद्रुमावतारश्रीमत्पृथ्वीमल्लदेवविजयराज्ये । महामात्य श्रीमत्
3. यशोवर्मदेवानांसमये ॥ नप्ताश्रीभीयराजस्याधनराजस्यधीमतः । छत्यालवंशतिलकसुनुर्ग्रन्थ ..
4. वर्मणः ॥ नावल्यदेव्याः संजातो ॥ देववर्मा महामतिः । तेनापूर्वतरावापीनिर्मिताअमरवल्लमा ॥
5. चैत्यपंचकसंयुक्तावसतिवुद्धसंततेः । विश्रामभूमिश्रान्तानांजीवितंसर्वदेहिनांमहामात्य श्रीमद्देववर्मदेवैः
6. सर्वसत्वोपकारर्थं स्वकीयोक्त-वुध्यानूतनरीत्या । देवतामपिवल्लभा । वापीविरचिता ॥ लिखित धर्मदासेन । इति सुभमस्तु ॥

APPENDIX B—24

An Inscription of Devavarmā, Kuchi, Achham

Date—1276 Śāke (1354 A. D.).

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Samhga, 2013 B. S.), p. 45.

Note—This inscription has been engraved on the lintle of the small reservoir (nāulī) of Kuchi village.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. श्री शाके १२७६ ॥ श्रीराजाधिराज पृथ्वीमल्लश्चिरंजयतु ॥ श्री देववर्म····पुण्येनसर्वेसत्वासुखिनो भवंतु ॥ 2. लिखितमिदं अिष्टिदास····

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APPENDIX B—25

An Inscription of Yaśovaramā

Place—Jayagadh, Achham.

Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, "Paśchim Nepāl kā kehi Aprakāśit Abhilekh" *Contibutions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. VII. Nos. 1 & 2 (1979-1980), p. 180.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओंमणिपद्मेहूं 2. महामण्डलेश्वररुद्धकु- 3. लावतार श्रीयशव्रह्मा-श्चिरंजयतु ॥

APPENDIX B—26

The Kanakapatra of Prithvīmalla

Place—Seridhuska, Jumla.

Date—1278 Śāke (1356 A.D.).

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Samgha, 2013 B. S.), pp. 49-52. G. Tucci has brought to light the photograph of this inscription in *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome: I M E O, 1956).

Note—This inscription is in possession of Dhananjaya Regmi of Seridhuska. In the end of the inscription, the figures of conch, disc, sword and the letters 'prithvimalla' are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ स्वस्तिकनद्यावर्तश्रीविशालचतुः शालसुधाधववलसोधोत्संग-संगतांगनासंगीतमनोहरे । हरहुंकाराशु-
2. शुक्षणिक्षपितप्रतीककुशुमाशुगजीवातुरमणीयरमणीकटाक्षविक्षे-पवारिवाहप्रमुदिततरुणजनमनः शिखावलापा -
3. रअपारसौरभ्यलुभ्यन्मधुकरमुखरसहकारशोकपुन्नागसुरभितपरिसरे ।

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श्रीमतिसेंजानगरे ।। गरुडध्वजावतारा ।

4. पारसंसारसागरोत्तारसेतुभूतापघन श्रीधनाराधनाधिगतप्राज्यरा-
ज्यरक्षाक्षमप्रचंडनिजभुजदंडकुंडलितकठिनकोदंड-
5. निर्मुक्त निशितशरनिकरनिर्भिन्नारातिप्रतीकोच्छलत्क्षतजासवपानोमत्तो-
त्कटकटपूतनोत्तालवेतालकोलाहलकाहली-
6. कृतसमरधरणीमंडल । मंडलाधीशोपायनीकृतमत्तवेतंडगंडस्थलगलन्म-
दामोदमुदितमधुकरझांकारमुखरिता ।
7. स्थाननिकेतनाजिर । राजवलिनारायण सूर्यचन्द्रविमुक्तोत्तपमानराज-
मत्तार सरस्वतीराजकंठामरणतंतिकाराज-
8. प्रथितनारद परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर राजतारातरणि
श्रीमत्पृथ्वीमल्लदेवाः सान्तः पुरपरिवाराः विजयिनः ।।
9. श्रीशाके १२७८ श्रावणसुदि १० शुक्रे राइको आदेस ।
10. जुमला दुलुं कुडना पलाता राकस्कोटका अधिकारी कार्कि खङ्गाहा-
वुढाथापा छिद्याका ।
11. अडे अधिकारि वियापारि सहानि सभौ प्रति । मेरि जन्मौति ढोया ।
आखर् पढायाका प्रसाद गोल्हु जोइसि कनकपत्रकि भाषा पसा क-
12. करि अकय्यांछु । आ १ गमौडिको द्योपाल भंडारिका का ढ्याखेतसहित् ।
आ १ वांजकोटको पुन्या पाटाकं चौथागं सहित पुरोकरि । आ १ न-
13. मजै धारगाडको विन्या कथ ठैं तको । आ १ ।। कुडना पथराशिको ।
आ १ हेप्कोट लखुनाडा खेतगांवको । आ १ थिडपुं खिपैको । छि -
14. द्यांको जांवुगाऊ १ एतिवृत्ति । पूर्विलि आदित्यमल्ल राइक पुण्यमल्ल-
राइका तारादेइ गोसाइ तिपाय हिम्जिउकि सूर्यग्रहण
15. चन्द्रग्रहण संकल्प घालि पसाकरि अक्कि । असेल म पनि आचंद्रार्क
स्थायी सर्ववाधाविनिर्मुक्तचतुः सीमापर्यन्तविशुद्धसर्वकर
16. अकर सर्वसेवा विरहित् कनकपत्रकि मापाकरि शासन दोहोलिकरि
गोल्हुजोइसिपसाकरि अक्य्यां छू डंड कुंड मोड अपुता-
17. लि मुडालि पेटालि चोरि जारि कर कुत जिउं कुडियो झयापां गुफ्यां
कडितो पाखो उइडो ऊहारो मानु मुठो वेठ वाउलो
18. दुवाउं पिठायो पोटलो आदि करि सर्भ छतीसै कर छाडि अक्य्यांहु ।
छिद्याका गांवंकि चरि काटन कोहि नपाव वेसाहा एक टंकि
19. कुडिदाम वदनाचार छपरदाम वेठ सुतो रुवो आदि करि समै कर् छाडि
अक्य्यां छु । एस कनकपत्र भितरकि वृत्तिकं निमित्त कठ (ट)

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20. ककूँढ (द) सेवा धारा सभै छाडि अक्यूंछु । च्यापाजिउ हिमूजिउका
आफना पुण्य निमित्तं धर्मशासन करि पसा करि अक्यूं छु । एस् कनक
21. पत्र भितर्कि भाषा गोल्हु जोईसिका पूत नाति भाइ भतिजो । चेलीको
चेलो आदि पाव । जो यो कनकपत्र भितरकि भाषा घाल घलाव
22. षोस षोसाव सौआफना द्यो पितर एकं सै पुरुषा कुंभीनरक घाल ब्रह्मा
विष्णु ईश्वर बुद्ध धर्म संघ एतिकं देवं घादे जो एति षौक्रि-
23. या नमानि एस् कनकपत्र भितरकि भाषा घाल घालव एकै उपद्रव
कर तास्को वुवा गादह तास कि मा सुंग्रि ।।
24. जो यो भाषा प्रतिपाल सो पुण्य पाइय । यो यस्मिनसमये राजाजायतेत्र-
तपोवलात् । तेनायंधर्मिणधर्मः पाल-
25. नीयः प्रयत्नतः ।। धर्मएवहतोहंतिधर्मोरिक्षतिरक्षितः । इति धर्मराजस्य-
सिंहनादोविजृंभते ।। षष्टिवर्षसहस्रा-
26. णांस्वर्गेतिष्ठतिभूमिदः । आच्छेताचानुमन्तामेवनरकेवसेत् ।। दिवकरि-
कूर्मलाचल फणिपति विधृता
27. पिचलतिवसुधेयम् । प्रतिपन्नममलमनसांनचलतिपुंसांयुगान्तेपि ।। सुवर्ण-
मेकंगामेकांभूमेरप्येकमंगुलं ।
28. हरन्नरकमाप्नोतियावदिंद्राचतुर्दश ।। स्वदत्तांपरदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च
वसुन्धरां । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणांवि ठायां जा-
29. यते क्रिमिः।। गांपकाद्ब्राह्माणींदास्याद्वृत्तिलोपा (द्) द्विजंवधात् ।
मोचय न्मुच्यतेपापादाजन्ममरणांतिकात् ।। अत्र
30. साक्षिणाः।। सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः । बुद्धधर्मसंधा : । भूमंडल-
साक्षिणः । अछामि राउला भर्ताकोटि राउला
31. विस्पतिराउला फैत्याल राउला हिरु राउला कुंवर भारवलालचंद
अभुंभंडाहि किदिथ (।) इतसकु जोइसि संकर्धी भंडा-
32. रि लेखक श्रीशिवदेवपंडितः शुभमस्तु ।। १ पृ थ्वी
म ल्ल

APPENDIX B—27

The Stone Pillar Inscription (Kīrtistambha) of Prithvīmalla

Place—Dullu, Dailekh
Date—1279 Śāke (1357 A. D.)
Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II,

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No. 1 (Kathmandu : Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.), pp. 58-61. G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome : I M E O, 1956), pp. 46-49, Fig. 11. The author of this book has also read the inscription at the spot.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति । सेवेपद्मोल्लसद्वक्त्रं 2. दानशौण्डं विनायकम् । यो दोष 3. श्रुतुरोधत्ते प्रजानां शित्रभावितः 4. १॥ आदित्यवंशे भवदादिपालो नृपः सु 5. तोस्यामरपाल भूपः । सुतस्तदीयो जय 6. पालभूपस्तसूनुरासी द्विजयादिपालः 7. २ ॥ श्रीवीरपालोनृपतिस्ततोभूत्तस्मा 8. दभूद्विक्र (म) पालभूपः । श्रीपालभूपस्त 9. नयस्तदीयः श्रीधीरपाल तनय स ले 10. मे ॥ ३ ॥ सोमपालो नृप तस्मात्सूर्यपाल 11. स्ततोभवत् । तज्जः समुद्रपालोभूत्सुख 12. पालस्तदात्मजः ॥ ४ ॥ ततः ख्यातोधि 13. शोजनि विग (ग्र) हपालक्षितिपतिस्ततो 14. जातः श्रीमान्वरगजमहीपालनृप 15. तिः । स जित्वा संख्येरीन् विहितवसति 16. गोंह विषये तुरंगैर्वदयानकृत वि 17. पुलांश्वीनपृतीन् ॥ ५ ॥····गीत 18. ····· 19. ····· ····· ष्व क्रे 20. ····· ॥ ६ ॥ विषयेझुमकाराख्ये 21. विश्वपालह्वयोनृपः । स्तम्भकत्वासपत्ना 22.····· राज्यमवापस : ॥ ७ ॥··· नरेन्द्र 23. कुलेजातो जीवपालाह्वयोनृपः । श्री 24.····· 24. ··· ····· ॥ ८ ॥····· सोत्सवं सर 25. लोनृपः । श्रीजयाख्ये नृपस्तमादज 27. निष्ट महायशाः ॥ ९ ॥ पुण्यमल्लाह्व 28. यः श्रीमान्नृपस्तस्मादजायत । साध्वी 29. शकुनामालाख्या-सद्वंश्यातन्महिष्य 30. भूत ॥ १० ॥ श्रीमल्लनामधेयोस्ति प्रथम 31. स्तनयस्तयो । जयन्तइवलक्ष्मीवा 32. न् शचीनमुचिविद्विये ॥ ११ ॥ अथ 33. खारिप्रदेशस्थो यो जात्रेश्वरतामगात्तेन 34. श्रीनागराजेन सेंजापुर्या स्थिति (:) कृता । १२

Back

ओं मणि पद्मे हूं

1. ओं स्वस्ति । तस्माच्चापस्तस्माच्चापिल्ल (:) 2. क्राशिचल्ल इति तस्मात्तस्मात्क्राधि 3. चल्ल (:) क्राचल्ल इति क्रमाद्भूपाः ॥ १३ ॥ 4. क्राचल्लजोभूमृदशोकचल्लोदिग्भित्ति 5. पु क्षांतिलतांतताम । जितारिमल्ल 6.

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तनयोथतस्य तस्मात्मजोथाक्षय 7. मल्लनामा ॥ १४ ॥ अशोकसुत आनंद 8. मल्लादतनुतद्भवः । रिपुमल्लोथ संग्राम 9. मल्लदतनुभवः ॥ १५ । आदित्य 10 मल्लोथ जितारिसूनुः कल्याण 11. मल्लस्य नृपस्य तातः । काल्याण 12. मल्लिः प्रथतेस्म भूमौ प्रतापमल्ला 13. ह्वयभूत् क्षितीशः ॥ १६ । स स्वयं ना– 14. गराजस्यनैवाग्रेपयदन्वयं । अथ 15. गेलावयः पुण्यमल्लस्तत्राभ्यषि 16. च्यत ॥ १७ । ततः शकुनमालाया 17. श्चन्द्रमालाभिधासुता । सुतश्च पृ– 18. थ्वीमल्लाख्यो जातौ तत्रक्रमादि 19. मौ ॥ १८ । साम्राज्ये स कुलापात 20. समायाते महीभृतां । वीर श्रीपृथ् 21. वीमल्लः ख्यातकीर्ति विराजते ॥ १९ । 22. घनानि ददतार्थिभ्यो धर्म कर्माणि 23. कुर्वता । पृथ्वीमल्लेनभूमर्त्रातिष्य (:) 24. कृतयुगीकृतः ॥ २० । तस्यैका घ 25. र्ममालाख्यादीपमालाह्वयापरा । 26. उभेदेव्यौविराजेतेविष्णेभुमित्रि 27. याविवा ॥ २१ । भिक्षुणा द्विजध 28. र्मभाणकाणां सूत्रधारका 29. र्णच । निचराज्ये सर्वकरास्ते 30. नाचंदार्कतारकंत्यक्ताः ॥ २२ । 31. वालसरस्वतीसुमति (:) प्रशास्तिमक 32. रोदिमां कलानिपुणः । अभिविज 33. यसिंहसुधीश्वतुरः शिवराजसू 34. त्रधारश्च ॥ २३ । ग्रहर्षिसूर्यगणाब्दे 35. शाके ज्येष्ठस्यमेचके रूद्रहेभानु 26. वारेसो कीर्तिस्तंभोधिरोपितः ॥ २४ ।

Bottom Left

श्रीशाके १२७६

APPENDIX B—28

The Stone Inscription of Jayasimha

Place—Balabhairab Temple, Dullu. Dailekh.

Date—127 (9) Śāke (1357 A. D.)

Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, *Paśchim Nepālko Aitihāsik Anveṣaṇa* (Kathmandu: C N A S, 2043 B. S.). p. 11.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं मणि पद्मे (हूं)

एतत्पुण्य फलाज्जीयात्पृथ्वीमल्लनृपश्रिरम् । जयसिंघेनषाडाक्षर्यभिनिर्मापिता शिला ॥ श्री शा. १२७ (९) ॥

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APPENDIX B—29

The Mudedaval Inscription of Prithvīmalla

Place—Dullu, Dailekh.
Date—1280 Śāke (1358 A. D.).
Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu : Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.) pp. 68-69

Transcript of the Inscription

1. (ओं) स्वस्ति श्रीशाके १२८० अ (आ) श्विने ॥ देववर्माणमादिश्य पृथ्वीमल्लमहीभुजा । चिरंतनजलाधारीपरिचैत्यकारिता ॥ १ ॥ यद्भूत्युण्यमम- 2. लसुगतागमागमकीर्तितं । तेनलोकद्वयेसर्वेसत्वाः सन्तुनिरापदः ॥ २ ॥ भंडानांस्थितिवि·····समये ॥·····। 3. लेखकनामनेकानां चारूचूडामणिर्गुणी अिष्टिदासइदं धर्मं व्यलिखिद्धर्म भाणकः ॥

APPENDIX B—30

The Copper Plate Inscription of Prithvīmalla (2)

Place—Magistrate Office, Jumla.
Date—1280 Śāke (1358 A. D.).
Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.), pp. 69-71
Note—In the end of the inscription, the figures of sword, sun, moon, and the name 'Prithvimalla' are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओंस्वस्ति ॥ अनिंधनसमिद्धोद्गे (ग) च्छज्ज्वालाजालजिह्वा लप्रत्यक्षवैश्वानरत्रयाधिष्ठानपरमपावन 2. श्रीदुर्ल्लंघ्यनगरे । गरूडध्वजावतारापारसंसारसागरोत्तारसेतुभूतापधनश्रीघनाराधनाधि- 3. गतप्राज्यराज्यरक्षाक्षमप्रचंडनिजभुजदंडचंडिमसमाक्रान्तविराटपीठाधिष्ठितप्रतिष्ठिवेष्ट- देवताः 4. परिचर्यापरामण। राजवलिनारायण । गार्ग्यायणगौतमादिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्र

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प्रवीण प्रष्ठ । अपा– 5. डराजजगज्ज्येष्ठ । अदीक्षितराजदीक्षाशिक्षागुरू । राजतारातरणिप्रभृतिविरूदावली विराजमान 6. परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वश्रीमत्पृथ्वीमल्लदेवपादाः सान्तः पुरसपरिवाराः सकुमा– 7. राः सर्वत्र विजयिः ॥ श्री शाके १२८० श्रीसम्वत् १४१५ मार्गशिरवदि १३ सोमे । राइको आदेस् 8. पंलांता 9. को मझडाको आलो ॥ हाथैको छंदो मगृशिरमास संक्रातिका दिन सोमवार तिंहि वेश्वानर हरिशं– 10. करियात्राकरि अक्न्या हुंदा तिलेकुशेसहित संकल्प घालि सर्वदोश (ष, सर्ववाधा विनिमुंक्त तां– 11. वाशासन करि देउराज जोइसि पसाकि अक्न्यां छु । झांपा गुप्यां कडता पाखो जिउंपुलो मौत चौनि डंड 12. मोड अपुतालि मुडालि पेटालि सवै छाडि छतीसकर अकर करि पसाकि अक्न्याछुं । श्री पृ 13 थ्वीमल्लकिसा (शा) खा पसाकरि अक्न । देऊराजजोइसिशाखा चेलीको चेलो भुंच । 14. अत्र शा (सा) क्षिणः सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ । वुद्धर्मसंघः । अमात्या जगतिसिंह राउला । वि-15. स्पति राउला । किदि सेजवाल ॥ वाछु भंडारी । सक्तु जोइसि । संकद्यौं– भडारि । लेखक जु 16. ठाद्यो जोइसि । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणिस्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । य मापा पशा (सा) करि अक्न्याछु घात् 17. तासाको वाप गाध मा सुगरि

पृ थ्वी
म ल्ल

APPENDIX B—31

An Inscription of Jagatisimha

Place—Devargauda, Kalikot.

Date—X

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa,* Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁhga, 2013 B. S.), p. 75; G. Tucci, *A Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome : 1956), fig. 60.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं मणि पद्मे हु

मंगलं भवतु श्री पृथ्वीमल्लदेवः ॥ ॥ लिखितमिदं पुण्यं जगतिसिंघस्य ।

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APPENDIX B—32

An Inscription of Prithvimalla

Place—Tharpuchakha, Kalikot.

Date—X

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II. No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B.S.) p. 77.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं मणिपद्मे हुं 2. अनेनपुण्येन सर्वे सत्वाः 3. सुखिनो भवन्तु ॥ धर्मराज 4. श्रीपृथ्वीमल्लः शुभंभवतु ॥

APPENDIX B—33

The Copper Plate Inscription of Sūryamalla

Date—1289 Śāke (1367 A. D.).

Source—Govinda Prasad Bhattarai, *Nepāl ra Nepālī* (Kathmandu : 2037 B. S.). p. 89-91.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ अस्तिकस्तूरिकामोदप्रमोदितजगत्त्रयम् सेंजाभिधानवरनगरं विख्यातंभुवनत्रये ॥ 2. तत्रसमस्तक्षोणीरक्षाक्षमदक्षिणनिजभुजदण्डाग्रजाग्रत्करकमलकलितकरवालधाराकृत 3. विपक्षलक्षलक्ष्मीसंभोगसुखरसिक अश्रान्तविश्राणनविजितसुरद्रुमविद्रुमोष्ठपुटपाटल— 4 सरस्वतीसंन्तोषितसमस्तविद्वजन उत्तरधरित्रीधरताप्रवीण श्रीघनाराघनप्राप्त— 5. सतत जगद्विजयराजप्रतापमार्तण्डराजमत्तगजसिंहरिपराजघनान्धकार जगज्योतिः 6. साहनसमुद्रशौयौ यौ दार्यगाम्मीर्यचातुरीप्रभृतिगुणमणिसमुद्रमहाराजाधिराजराज— 7. कार्पटिककाशीश्वरधारणागतराजराजन्यरक्षादक्षसगर्वराजसर्वश्वहरणप्रवीणप्रभृति- 8. यथार्थविरूदविराजमान श्रीसूर्यमल्लपादाः सान्तः पुरपरिवारा समादिशन्ति। श्रीशा— 9. के १२८९ मार्गशीष्यदिवादशम्यां। वुधे राइको आदेश 10. सिर्कोट जामका अधिकारी कार्कीप्रति 11. आलो १ गुआत्या पानिको सुरवातोला सहित आलो १ सेठान्यागावको। आलो १ वांधु १२. गाँको आलो ॥

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कालागांवको । आलो ।। जामदुवालिको एकत्र आला ४ कनकपत्र क– 13. रि जुठा जोइसि पसाकि अवन्याछुं । चोरि जारि दंड कुंड मोड् अपुत्तालिमुडालि-पेटालि 14. जिउं कुडियो गुंफ्या कडित्या पोटलो पिठायो आदि करि छत्ति-सकर अकर करि । टिका– 15. ढोणा पुण्य पसाकि अवन्या छुं । यो भाषा सूर्यमल्लकि शाखा चेलिको चेलो पसाकरि अक्न 16. जुठा जोइसि कि शाखा चेलिको चेलो आदि भुंच । यो भाष् नमानि जो यो वृत्ति घाल च (घ) ला– 17. व तासकि मां सुग्री वाप गाद्ध एकै से पुरूषा तस्का धोवा कुंडत्झान् । अत्र साक्षिणाः रत्नत्र- 18. यं । सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ । भूमण्डलका साक्षी च्यापजुन कुंवर, अछामि राउल् 19. श्रीब्रह्म राउल. राजु राउल्, साङ्कण राउल् साझा (रू) भंडारि, संकर्द्योभंडारि 20. स्वदत्तां परदता वा यो हरेत्तु वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्ता पितृमिः स– 21. हमज्जति । शत्रुणापि कृतो धर्मः पालनीयः प्रयत्नतः शत्रुदेव हि शत्रुः स्याद्धर्म शत्रुर्नकस्यचित् । इति धर्मशास्त्रतो ज्ञात्वा पालनीयमिदं ।

APPENDIX B—34

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (1)

Date—1298 Śāke (1376 A. D.).
Source—Himavat Saṁskriti, Vol, 1, p. 35

Transcript of the Inscription

ओंस्वस्ति ।। अविकलभुवनमरोद्वहनधैर्यप्रोचुर्यकीर्तिकदम्वेनेवाशेषकव-लिकलेवरस्यनीहारगौरस्यानन्तस्येवापरंवपुरूद्वहस्तस्तुहिनगिरेर्नितम्वेवर्तमान-मभिगलिंतदुकूलशंकामिवोद्वहन्त्याश्वेतसरितसमलङ्कृतपरिसरप्रदेशामुदुम्वर-पुरीमधिवसन्नतुलभुजबलविजितरिपुलवलकामिनीजननयननिर्गतवारिपूरसुदूर-समुत्सारितमत्सरिक्षितिपतिप्रतापानलः प्रचण्डभुजदण्डकुण्डलितकोदण्डखण्डनिर्ग-च्छच्छरनिकरजर्ज्जरीकृतारिभूधरासुरसंहरणवालगोपालः कोम्वोजवानायुजवा-हंलिकपारसीकघुद्गतार्वरत्नसंघसाहरसमुद्रः शवलसामन्तमण्डलीमौलिमण्डित-चरणसरोजः सपरिवारः श्रीमानभयमल्लश्चिरंजयतु ।। श्रीशाके १२९८ फाल्गुन वदि ७ रवौ । राइको आदेश ।।

वाजुका अधिकारि । कार्किप्रति ।। अंदरगावंको वेलकांटियो निमौनके-गढे सहित एकत्र आलो १।। सर्वकार अकर सर्वदोष विशुद्ध कि जैवम्ह जोइसि

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पसाकि अक्यांछु । मुडालि पेटालि मोड् अपुतालि । जारि । दोष समैं छाडि अक्रयाछु । झयापा गुंफ्या कडित्या कुत् मातू । पोट्लो पिठायो कोहिलैन नपाव जोभाषा पृथ्वीमल्ल राइका पसाकिथि । ते भाषा म पसाकि अकन्याछु । यो भाषा अभयमल्लकि साषा पसाकि अक्न । जैवम्ह जोइसि । महिराजजोइसिकि साखा चेलिको चेलो आदि भुंच । अत्र साक्षिण । सूर्यचन्द्रमसो रत्नत्रयं ॥ भूमंडलका साक्षिः जैतवम्ह राउला सिरिवम्ह राउला राजवम्ह राउला पेखक अजुखड्काहा लेखक धर्मदास जोइसि ।

APPENDIX B—35

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (2)

Date—1298 Śāke (1376 A. D.).
Source—Himavat Saṁskriti, Vol. 1, p. 36.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं स्वस्ति । अविकलभुवनभरोंद्वहनधैर्यप्राचुर्यकीर्तिकदम्वननैकशेष-कवलितकलेवरस्यनीहारगौरस्यानंतसेवापरवपुरूद्वहस्तस्तुहिनगिरेर्नितम्वेवर्त-मानामभिलितटुकूलशंकामिवोदवहंत्याश्वेतसरितः समलङ्कृतपरिसरप्रदेशानुदु-म्वरपुरीमधिवसन्तुलभुजवलविजितरिपुवलकामिनीजननयननिर्गतवारिपूरसुदूर-भुजदडकुंडलितकोदण्ड्खण्डनिर्गच्छच्छरनिकरप्रवाहजर्जरिकृतारिमुधरासुरसंहर-णबालगोपाल स्कांवोज वानायुज वाल्हीक पारसिकाद्युद्गतार्वरत्नसंघाहसमुद्-गतसवलसामंतमंडलीमोलिमंडित चरणसरोजः सपरिवारः श्रीमानभयमल्लश्चि-रंजयतु श्रीशाके १२९८ फाल्गुन सुदि भौमे राइको आदेस् ॥

जुसि कांपिलाका अधिकारी कार्की प्रति ॥ निव्लिका मादा आधा ढुंखेतको गाग्रीपाटालाई । नयाखेत । वडाखेत । वाज्याभूवांका गढा डुंग्रि-वगान । सिलधाको ' भुगदिपाटो ३ कत्र आला २ मंमलाका तामापत्र शासन् कि । आचंडार्करछाइकि । महिराज सोति अमैराज सोति । प्रशुसोति । पसाकि अक्य्रा छुं । झापा गुंफां कडित्या पोटलो पिठायो मोड अपुतालि मुडालि पेटाली ॥ जारि चोरि कोहि लैननपाव यो भाषा अभयमल्लकि शाखा पसाकि अक्न सोतिकि शाखा भुंचं ॥ अत्र साक्षिण रत्नत्रयाः । सूर्यचन्द्रमसौ जैतब्रह्म-राउला ॥ धेवु राउला । उदैसि राउला अछामी राउला शुभम् ।

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APPENDIX B—36

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (3)

Place—Danduru Village, Bajhang.

Date—1299 Śāke (1377 A. D.).

Source—Raja Ram Subedi, "Bajhāṅg jillākā Bāhra Abhilekh" *Contributions to Nepalese Studies,* Vol. Vl. No. 2 (1979). pp. 91-92

Note—The inscription is reproduced here with corrections. In the end of the inscription, the figures of disc and conch and the name 'sri abhayamalla' are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ।। रायअसुरनारायणरायवालगोपालरिपुरायदोषं दुमल्ला 2. श्रीअभयमल्लदेवपादाः सपरिवाराः सकुमाराः सर्वत्र विजयिनो भवन्तु । 3. श्री शाके १२९९ वैशाख दिन सोमवासरे राइको आदेश । 4. अधिकारी कार्की वुढाथापा रोकाया सभैंप्रति कुमालतडको आलो ।। 5. सुंनिकांटिया भाटगांवका सुनिका चौथाग दंवुरू नन्या वानियाको 6 हुंदो । सुषा षोलाको उण्जनषटपडापढो महुन्या उभो एक र चौथागा ।। 7. शिंहुडाद्वानिघर चिद्विथात् वाग्वोढारवो-ठोबाट उभो पांडिलतोला । 8. उभो वागागडो एति एकत्र सभैं आलासूर्यग्रहण संकल्प घाली सिरू । 9. जोइसि पसाकि अक्रयांछु । डंड दोष मोड अपुताली कुत् भात् । 10. पोट्लो पिठायो जारी चांरी झाप्या गुप्या जिउ कुडियो मुडाली । पे 11. टाली । आकाशको ढिडो पातालकी निध सर्वकर सर्वदोष विसुद । 12. करि अभैंमल्लको चेलीको चेलो आदी पसाकरि सिरू जोइसिको चे- 13. लिको चेलो आदि भुंचा जैंनाषडाभैंमल्ल पसाकिछ तैंताष जैंतवह्म सिर्वह्म 14. मलैंवह्म सुजानवह्म तलकोटी सुरूलवम्म तैंजाष जयाकर उपाध्यादिनाउछो । 15. इनुकी साषा दे । जयाकर उपाध्याकी साषा भुच अत्र साक्षिणः रत्नत्रयायासु— 16. यांचन्द्रमसौ । वुद्धवौद्ध । मुमण्डलका साछि जाड० राउल रामषडगाहा । 17. तिपुरूभाट डोडकुंवर हरिवम्मो राउल लेषक विद्यकर जोर्या धर्म प्रतिपाल 18. सो पुण्य पाइया । जो यइ वृत्ति पचपचकर सो महापातक पाइया । मेरू— 19. श्चलति कल्पान्ते मर्यादा सागरोगति । प्रतिपन्नमहासत्यं (न) विचलन्ति क— 20. दाचन ।। स्वदत्ता

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पसाकि अक्यूंछु । मुडालि पेटालि मोड् अपुतालि । जारि । दोष समैं छाडि अक्रयाछु । झयापा गुंफ्या कडित्या कुत् मातू । पोट्लो पिठायो कोहिलैन नपाव जोभाषा पृथ्वीमल्ल राइका पसाकिथि । ते भाषा म पसाकि अकन्याछु । यो भाषा अभयमल्लकि साषा पसाकि अक्न । जैवम्ह जोइसि । महिराजजोइसिकि साखा चेलिको चेलो आदि भुंच । अत्र साक्षिण । सूर्यचन्द्रमसो रत्नत्रयं ॥ भूमंडलका साक्षिः जैतवम्ह राउला सिरिवम्ह राउला राजवम्ह राउला पेखक अजुखड्काहा लेखक धर्मदास जोइसि ।

APPENDIX B—35

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (2)

Date—1298 Śāke (1376 A. D.).
Source—Himavat Saṁskriti, Vol. 1, p. 36.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं स्वस्ति । अविकलभुवनभरोद्वहनधैर्यप्राचुर्यकीर्तिकदम्वननैकशेष-कवलितकलेवरस्यनीहारगौरस्यानंतसेवापरवपुरूद्वहस्तस्तुहिनगिरेर्नितम्वेवर्तं-मानामभिलितदुकूलशंकामिवोदवहंत्याश्वेतसरितः समलङ्कृतपरिसरप्रदेशानुदु-म्बरपुरीमधिवसन्तुलभुजवलविजितरिपुवलकामिनीजननयननिर्गतवारिपूरसुदूर-भुजदडकुंडलितकोदण्ड्खण्डनिर्गच्छच्छरनिकरप्रवाहजर्जरिकृतारिमुधरासुरसंहर-णबालगोपाल स्कांवोज वानायुज वाल्हीक पारसिकाद्युद्गतार्वरत्नसंघाहसमुद्-गतसवलसामंतमंडलीमोलिमंडित चरणसरोजः सपरिवारः श्रीमानभयमल्लश्चि-रंजयतु श्रीशाके १२९८ फाल्गुन सुदि भौमे राइको आदेस् ॥

जुसि कांपिलाका अधिकारी कार्की प्रति ॥ निव्लिका मादा आधा ढुंखेतको गाग्रीपाटालाई । नयाखेत । वडाखेत । वाज्याभूवांका गढा डुंग्रि-वगान । सिलधाको ' भुगदिपाटो ३ कत्र आला २ मंमलाका तामापत्र शासन् कि । आचंडार्करछाइकि । महिराज सोति अमैराज सोति । प्रशुसोति । पसाकि अक्या छुं । झापा गुंफां कडित्या पोटलो पिठायो मोड अपुतालि मुडालि पेटाली ॥ जारि चोरि कोहि लैननपाव यो भाषा अभयमल्लकि शाखा पसाकि अक्न सोतिकि शाखा भुंचं ॥ अत्र साक्षिण रत्नत्रयाः । सूर्यचन्द्रमसौ जैतब्रह्म-राउला ॥ धेवु राउला । उदैसि राउला अछामी राउला शुभम् ।

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APPENDIX B—36

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (3)

Place—Danduru Village, Bajhang.

Date—1299 Śāke (1377 A. D.).

Source—Raja Ram Subedi, "Bajhāṅg jillākā Bāhra Abhilekh" *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. Vl. No. 2 (1979). pp. 91-92

Note—The inscription is reproduced here with corrections. In the end of the inscription, the figures of disc and conch and the name 'sri abhayamalla' are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ।। रायअसुरनारायणरायवालगोपालरिपुरायदोषं दुमल्ला 2. श्रीअभयमल्लदेवपादाः सपरिवाराः सकुमाराः सर्वत्र विजयिनो भवन्तु । 3. श्री शाके १२९९ वैशाख दिन सोमवासरे राइको आदेश । 4. अधिकारी कार्की वुढाथापा रोकाया सभैंप्रति कुमालतडको आलो ।। 5. सुंनिकांटिया भाटगांवका सुनिका चौथाग दंवुरू नन्या वानियाको 6 हुंदो । सुषा षोलाको उण्जनषटपडापढो महुन्या उभो एक र चौथागा ।। 7. शिहुडाद्वानिघर चिद्विथात् वाग्वोढारवो-ठोबाट उभो पांडिलतोला । 8. उभो वागागडो एति एकत्र सभैं आलासूर्यग्रहण संकल्प घाली सिरू । 9. जोइसि पसाकि अक्रयांछु । डंड दोष मोड अपुताली कुत् भात् । 10. पोट्लो पिठायो जारी चांरी झाप्या गुप्या जिउ कुडियो मुडाली । पे 11. टाली । आकाशको ढिडो पातालकी निध सर्वकर सर्वदोष विसुद । 12. करि अभैंमल्लको चेलीको चेलो आदी पसाकरि सिरू जोइसिको चे- 13. लिको चेलो आदि भुंचा जैंनाषडाभैंमल्ल पसाकिछ तैंताष जैंतवह्म सिरवह्म 14. मलैंवह्म सुजानवह्म तलकोटी सुरूलवम्म तैंजाष जयाकर उपाध्यादिनाउछो । 15. इनुकी साषा दे । जयाकर उपाध्याकी साषा भुच अत्र साक्षिणः रत्नत्रयायासु— 16. यांचन्द्रमसौ । वुद्धवौद्ध । मुमण्डलका साछि जाड० राउल रामषडगाहा । 17. तिपुरूभाट डोडकुंवर हरिवम्मो राउल लेषक विद्यकर जोर्या धर्म प्रतिपाल 18. सो पुण्य पाइया । जो यइ वृत्ति पचपचकर सो महापातक पाइया । मेरू— 19. श्चलति कल्पान्ते मर्यादा सागरोगति । प्रतिपन्नमहासत्यं (न) विचलन्ति क— 20. दाचन ।। स्वदत्ता

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परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च वसुंधराम् षष्टि वर्ष सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जा–21. यते कृमिः ॥ शत्रुणापि कृतं धर्म पालनीय प्रयत्नतः शत्रुरेव ही शत्रुस्मात् धर्म 22. शत्रुर्नकस्यचित् ॥

उधार शाके १३१३

वसत्रह्म सुभं

श्री अभय मल्ल

APPENDIX B—37

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (4)

Date—1299 Śāke (1377 A. D.),

Source—Raja Ram Subedi, "Bajhāṅg jillākā Bāhra Abhilekh" *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. Vl. No. 2 (1979). pp. 92-93. Purna Prakash Nepal "Yatri", *Setīkā Tārā* (Biratnagar: Himali Saugat Prakashan, 2034 B.S.). pp. 246-247.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ अविकलभुवनभरोद्वहनधैर्यप्राचुर्यकीर्ति– 2. कदम्वेनैवाशेषकवलितकलेवरस्यनिहारगौरस्यानन्तस्यवपुरूद्वहस्ततुहिनगिरेर्नि - तम्वेवर्तमानम– 3. भिगलितदुकूलशंकाविमोद्वहन्त्याश्वेतसरितासमलंकृतपरि- सरप्रदेशाश्री- सेगुड (पु)– 4. रिमधिवसन्नतुलभुजवलविजितरिपुवलकामिनी- जननयननिर्गतलारिपुरसुदूर– 5. समुत्सरितमत्सरिक्षितिपतिप्रतापानलः प्रचण्- डभुजदण्डकुण्डलितकोदंडखंडनि- 6. र्गच्छच्छरनिकरप्रवाजर्जरिकतारिभूधरासु- रसंहणवालगोपालः काम्वोज वानायुजवा- 8. ह्लीकपारसिकद्युद्गतार्वरत्नसं- घसाहरसमुद्रः शवलसामन्तमण्डलिमौलि (मण्डित) चरण सरोजः 8. सपरिवारः श्रीमानभयमल्लश्चिरंजयतुः ॥ श्रीशाके १२९९ फाल्गुण वदि ११ सोमे राइको आदेश । 9. डुंग्राका अधिकारि कार्कि प्रति । आ १ मात्याखोलाको । आ ॥ खेती वाड्याको आ ॥ डुम्री 10. को लाम्पाटा उभो भू एकत्र आ २ तांमापत्र सासनकि पुडु जोइसि । तिलु जोइसि । सिर्कंठु 11. जोइसि पसाकि अकयांछु सर्व्वंकर अकर सर्वदोष विशुद्धाज्ञाप्या गुप्या कडित्या मोड अ- 12. पुताली मुडाली पेटाली सर्भं छाडि अक्याछु । कोहिल्यैन नपाव । यो भाषा । 13. अभयमल्लकि साषा पसाकि अक्या पुडजोइसि । तिलु जोइसि सिर्कंठु जो-

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14. इसि कि साषा चेलीको चेलो आदि भुंचा। अत्र साक्षिणः सुर्यचन्द्रमसौ रत्न। 15 त्रया भुमण्डलका साक्षि। जैतुवम्म राउला सिरिवम्म राउला राजवम्म राउला 16. सुमेरुवम्म राउला अंतिवम्म राउला अनेकुवम्म राउला तलकोटी राउला मेदिनिवम्म राउला धेव राउला। गोह्याल राउला। 17. लेषक धर्मदाश जोइसि। सिउराज षडका अत्र साक्षि॥

अभै मल्ल

APPENDIX B—38

An Inscription of Malayavarmā

Place—Rainkasanghu, Kalikot.

Date—1300 Śāke (1378 A.D.)

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Devabhūmi Bhārata evam Ādhyātmika Nepāla,* Vol. 1 (2038 B. S.). p. 173.

Note—This inscription is inscribed on a huge stone.

Transcript of the Inscription

ओं मणि पद्मे हूं॥

ओं स्वस्ति। श्रीशाके १३०० राजा श्री मलयवर्मा रत्नमाला रानी सुपुत्र सुमेरू वर्मा····चिरं जयन्तु॥

APPENDIX B—39

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (5)

Place—Brahmatola, Bajura.

Date—1305 Śāke (1383 A.D.).

Source—This inscription has been available by the courtesy of Mr. Purna Prakash Nepal "Yatri". According to him, this copper plate is in possession of Gopinath, Kalu jaisi and Govind jaisi of Brahmatola village of Bajura district.

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Transcript of the Inscription

ओं स्वस्ति । संसारव्याधिविध्वंसवरीयान्यत्रविश्रुत: । श्रीवैद्यनाथगिरि-राजस्मिन्श्रीवरेसेंजासत्पुरे ॥ महाराजाधिराजतारकासुध्यकरिरिपुराजतस्थ: पटलपाटनपटुप्रतापमेवमा राजवालगोपालराजगरूडनारायणसकलशास्त्रकृतपारा-यणपरमभट्टारकपरमसौगातापरमोदाराजटानिधिकुलपवित्रजन्मश्रीमदभयमल्ल-देवपादा: सुचिरोविजयिनाम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीशाके १३०५ ज्येष्ट वदि अमावा-स्याया सोमवासरे । राइको आदेस ।

तिषा डुंग्राकि साद उवो नीम उवो भेरासीय गुर्यागाड ठाडो विन्यानी-वाडा सितों कुंडिका अधिकारी कार्कि खड्गाहा । वुढाथापा प्रति । सुपाकोटको आलो ॥ चौड्यास्युका गडासित सैंचुमाट तामापत्र करि सोमवारी अमावस्या संकल्प घालि पृथ्वीमल्लकि भाषा पसाकि अक्ष्याछु । उंडकुंड मोड अपुत्यलि जारि चोरि मुडालि पेटाली दुवाया पिठायो सैंचुको सोद्दो वर्सिको डंडो रोपाइरो छत्तिसि वत्तिसि हिलपानी धुलस्याउलि करि पसाकि अक्ष्याछु ॥ यो भाषा अभैमल्लको कुंवरीको कुंवर आदि पसागर सैंचुभाटकि चेलिको चेलो भुंच । अत्र साक्षिण: सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ वुद्धधर्म संघ महामात्य सुजानवर्म राउला । सुमेरूवर्मा राउला । मलैवम्म राउला त्रिलोकसिंघ कुंवर । किदिर्सेजवाल । पुजु खंड्काहा । मेषनिधि खंड्गाहावैकुण्ठ पण्डित । वाहानथापा ।

शत्रुणापिकृतोधर्मपालनीयप्रयत्नत: । शत्रुरेवहिशत्रुस्यात्धर्मशत्रुर्नक-स्यचित् । नरासुधड्याको आलो १ सैंचुभाट दि ॥ सान्तु ॥

अ भै
म ल्ल

APPENDIX B—40

The Copper Plate Inscription of Malayavarmā

Place—Handetola, Jajarkot
Date—1311 Śāke (1389 A. D.).
Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, *Paśchima Nepālako Aitihāsika Anveṣaṇa* (Kathmandu: C N A S, 2043 B. S.), p. 12
Note—In the end of the inscription there is a figure of sword.

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Transcript of the Inscription

1. स्वस्ती श्रीसाके १३११ मसे ५ तिथौ १५ वारे ५ नक्षेत्रे १७ श्री व्रर्मथांनि वित्रा (र्ता) को 2. ताम्रपत्र लिपितंम् श्री श्री श्री महाराजधीराज देवसुर डेडिमल मलैम्भं 3. कि माया भैछ कालुकवा अनन्तमल्ल वसालि दियाको छ खिडकीसैन्य हरिदत्त अदिकारि वाहुंले पायो 4. मंधर डुगृको ष्पेत पाष्पो जग्गा पूव (र्व) सूयाड पसि रातोम (ा) टो उत्त्र घनघाटगाडष्पेत ष्पोलाको दोभंन (दोभान) द– 5. ष्पिन मेलषोलो गांडषेत दान सैनमग्रहदान संकलले पायो इनिचारकिला (ल्ला) मित्रको ड (डं)– 6. ड कु (कुं) ड मुड अपुतालि चेल्लि चवै उल्जो मैइलो दुवारो साउन्य विरोल्य वदारो सराध्य दसै तियार 7. येति वांहुंनले पायो तेस् तरफ त्य (ा) हां हांमरा सव (ा) रि भयाम (ा) दैठेकी मेजमनिक् दिनु 8. त्य (हां) तिमि भित्रका मानिसलाई डोलि डोको चलाई दिनु साचि ड (ा) डागाउं सदुजैसि कटिगाउं मैसु 9. जैसि मंघर फंजु रावल रूघ थापा मेहेलतोलि न (न्) दुजैसि जो व्रर्म दाउदे सो वाफ् घाउदे जो चन्द्र– 10. सुर्जमस सो व्रर्म दावदे हांसको काग् काग्को हांस हो त यस तांमपत्र फेरि जा त वंदेय साचि ।11. श्री श्री श्री रांम रांमः कृस्न त्मपत्र (तामापत्र) माहादेव साची सुभ्म् ॥ ॥

APPENDIX B—41

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (6)

Place—Samjelgaun, Myagdi.

Date—1313 Śāke (1391 A. D.)

Source—Mohan Prasad Kharal, *Madhya Kālina Abhilekh* (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 17-18.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ रायअन्जननारायण रायवालगोपाल 2. श्रीमानभयमल्लदेवसदाविजयिनोभवतु ॥ श्रीशाके १३१३ वैशा- 3. षदिने स्वमवासरे राइका आदेस अदिकारी हितराउल रोकाया घो- 4. ग्रातलमुटि-कनिक शकस्ना पपाटि चिंताराउलको आलो १ पंडा 5. षेत उदो १९ षेत

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उनो सातारो केला घडि १ डालो दुमठपारेषनी 6. वौरउनो पानीषालउनो १ आलो शुक्रयाडावर्थरकिक वसाउ १ 7. चौरजगा यत्ति सव येकत्र करी वजगाहालाई सकल्प घाली ज- 8. याकर उपाध्या कि शाख दियुं सर्वकर अकर सर्वदोष विशुद्ध क- 9. रिअक्यूां सूर्यग्रहण याचित छो चन्द्र सूर्य सछि पगम अषि तै गषि 10. जैतिवम हरिराउल इतश्री ठेडुराव जैतिवम सिरूवम् गंगाधर जोइसि 11. साक्षि हरिराउल साछि रूपसिंथापा भ्यु रोकाया साछि दोडुकु- 12. मल तिपुरू भाट लेखक विद्याकर जोइशि साछि चन्द्रसूर्यवृद्ध- 13. धर्म भूमण्डलका साछि मेरू चलती टरागर्त मेति सागरो गति 14. प्रतिपनमया साछि नविचलंति तदा चलं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा 15. यो हरेच्च वसुन्धरा । सष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणी विष्ठाया जायते क्रि 16. मिः ।। शुममस्तु ।।

अभयमल्ल (मुद्रा)

APPENDIX B—42

The Copper Plate Inscription of Medinivarmā

Place—Jumlakot

Date—1315 Śāke (1393 A. D.).

Source—Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu: Itihāsa Prakāśaka Saṁgha, 2013 B. S.), pp. 103-105.

Note—In the end of the inscription the figures of sword, sun and moon are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ।। स्वस्तिक नं (न) द्यावर्त श्री विसाल चतुः शाले सुधा (घ) वल सौधोत्सं 2. गना संगीत मनोहरे ।। श्रीमत् सिंजामिधानवर नगरे । श्रीमत् प्रोद्य (त्) 3. प्रताप महामंडलेश्वर श्री मेदिनीब्रह्म । सकल कला प्रवीण । की 4. ति केयूर हार । सेत्मामदानान्त (त्त) रण । मंडलीय असुरनारायण अश्व (म्व) 5. दान दीक्षा समर्थ । मंडलीय स्वर्ण दान दक्ष । सकल विद्धि (द्व) ज्जनाधा 6. र । कामिनी मानस सरोवर राजहंस । मंडलीय विराधिवीर । ष्ट (वृ) 7. द्ध (द्ग) राजाधिराय । निजकुल कुमुद प्रकाशनैक

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कलानिधान । श्रीमत् 8 ने (मे) दिनी ब्रह्म प्रदत्त शासनस्य दत्वा ॥ अस्मिन् श्री साके १३१५ मार्गशिर सु 9. दि १२ रविवासरे । मेदिनीब्रह्म राउलो वचन् । गमका अधिकारी कार्कि म 10. हत्यारा रोकाहा प्रति । आलो १॥ अं (ऊ) षढाइ ढांको एकत्र आला कि दोहोली 11. कि थान किसत्ताइस कि रित कि दत्तु जोइसि देउराज जोइसि पसा कि 12. या छु । अठाग एकत्कल-यामा (ना) को झुसु जोइसि पसा किया छु । मेदिनीब्रह्म कि शाषा 13. चेलिको चेलो पसा कर दत्तु जोइसि देउराज जोइसि झुसु जोइसिको चेलिको 14. चेलो मुंच । मोए (ड) अपुतालि मुडालि पै (पे) टालि डंड. कु (कुं) ड. वेठ । अंइडो । पिठु 15. पाउनि । छत्तिसै कर अकर कि अक्रि मारि (टि) कि पसा किया छु । अत्र साक्षिण 16. सूर्याचंद्रमसौ । भूमडल साक्षि पृ (प) र्वतवर्म राउला । राजकुवर्म राउला । अजित् 17. वह्म राउला । आदिब्रह्म राउला । अंडाल कुवर । नानिकु (कु) सेजुवाल भक्त 19. राउला । जोगु राउला । गुनझुषडगाहा । ढोठु राउला । विद्याध 19. र आचार्य । लिषित । विष्नुसरा आयाये रोइदास उपाध्या ॥ 20. स्वदत्तं द्विगुर्ण पुण्य परदत्तामु (नु) पालतं (ने) परदत्ता प्र (प) हारेण स्वदत्तं 21. नि: फले (लं) भवेत् । स्वर्ण मेकं गां (गा) मेकां भुमिरप्येकमंगुलं 22. हरं नरकमाप्नोदि (ति) यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश: । दानपालनयो 23. र्मध्ये दानाश्च (च्छे्) योनुपालनो (नं) दानात् स्वर्गमवाप्नोति । 24. पालनादलका पा (प) दम् ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

APPENDIX B—43

The Copper Plate Inscription of Balirāja

Place—Kalaigaun, Mugu.

Date—1322 Śāke (1400 A. D.).

Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, *Paśchima Nepālako Aitihāsik Anveṣaṇa* (Kathmandu: C N A S 2043 B.S.), p. 33.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ उत्पत्ति आदिभूत । तद्युकुल संतानोभूपतिर्नाम 2. वस्ड: तस्यपि वड्०स वृद्धि जनित सुत पौत्रा क्षतृयवीरसूर 3. जातो

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उत्तीमराज जगवरि विक्षातो तस्यपुत्र स क्षात भूयो शा··· 4. द्ध वैराटपुर नृपते श्री वलीराजनृप । तेन वलिराजेन पु- 5 न्याथेन तिलकुस सहित भूमिदाने संकंल्पितं । चातुर्वेदाश्व- 6. मिष्ठ गुनविद्या विसेषत । सद्रपदुधराजविप्रेनधार्य 7. श्री शाके १३२२ फाल्गुन मासे सुक्ल पक्षे दिनगत ३ नक्षत्र ७ तिथि 8. १२ वार ५ जुमला स्थाने सुवर्नहारनाम नगरे लिषितं पंडी- 9. त वल्लालेन सुभमस्तु ॥ आलि २ छत्तिसकर अकर । सर्व 10. दोष निर्दोष ॥ घरासको आलो माझषेतको आलो गोठिपालि 11. को वन ।

APPENDIX-C

The Thirty-six Taxes of the Khaśa Kingdom

The land grant charters of the Khaśa Kingdom mention various kinds of taxes collectively known as *chhattisakar* (thirty six taxes). Judicial fines, corporal punishments, forced labour and obligations were also included in these taxes. The taxes and their meanings seem to have been as follows :

1. Daṇḍa kuṇḍa—Collective phraseology for judicial fines and corporal punishments.
2. Moḍa aputālī—State had claimed reversion of the property of those dying without heirs.
3. Muḍālī—The meaning of *muḍa* is head. Probably, *muḍālī* was a kind of tax imposed on women of certain ethnic group of the Himalayas.
4. Peṭālī—Punishment for abortion.
5. Chorī—Punishment regarding theft.
6. Jarī—Punishment for elopement.
7. Kar—Tax on trade.
8. Kut—A tax levied on agricultural produces. It can be interpreted as the rent of land.
9. Jiu—This refers to a tax on domesticated animals and fowls.
10. Kuḍiyo—House tax.
11. Uiḍo or Oiḍo—A tax collected from the villagers for public welfare works or to help someone who suffered from natural calamities and other difficulties.

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12. Jhyāñpa
13. Guñphyā
14. Kaḍito

—Taxes levied on forest produces.

15. Pākho—*Pākho* or *pākhī* is the name of a kind of woolen blanket. So *pākho* seems to have been the tax on the producers of woolen cloths.
16. Uhāro—A tax collected from the villagers for the entertainment of distinguished guest coming from outside the village.
17. Mānu
18. Muṭho

—Taxes consisting of foodgrains for feeding the government officials and hermits.

19. Beṭh Bāulo—Forced and unpaid labour.
20. Dubāuñ or Dubāro—*Rakams* paid by the people on such occasions like *chhaiṭī* (ceremony celebrated on the 6th day of a newly born baby), *vratavandha* (sacred thread investiture ceremony) and marriage of royal family and nobles.
21. Piṭhāyo or Poṭalo—*Pithāyo* or *poṭalo* denotes the *ṭīkā* and *jamarā* of the Daśaiñ and Tihār festivals. As these terms are mentioned along with the names of taxes, they seem to have been the *rakamse* paid by the people on these occasions.
22. Vandanāchār or Dekhanī—It was a kind of custom to show respect to the king.
23. Chhapardām—A *rakam* paid by the people to set up tour camps for the king, nobles and governors.
24. Rubo—Tax on cotton.
25. Suto—Tax on cotton thread.
26. Kaṭak kuñd—Compulsory military service.
27. Sevā—It was, probably, a kind of compulsory service to be rendered by the people to the state.
28. Dhārā —It was also, probably, a kind of forced and unpaid labour for the construction of water-receptacles.
29. Ropāiro—Forced and unpaid labour to sow paddy crop on crown-land and the lands of nobles and village headmen.
30. Pulo—A tax on grass and grazing lands.
31. Maunī—Tax on fruits and vegetables.
32. Chaunī—Tax on milk, curd, ghee and honey.

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33. Akāśako phal—It was, probably, a tax upon the hunting of the birds.
34. Pātālakī nidh—Tax on mines.

Thus the tax system of the Khaśa Kingdom appears to have been diversified. However, its character was regressive. Brāhmaṇas had got many *Birtā* lands with the exemption from all taxes.

APPENDIX—D

Origin of the Family Surnames of the Pahādī Caste Groups of Nepal

The following nomenclatures show that most of the family surnames of the Nepalese Pahāḍī caste groups were derived from the governmental posts of the Khaśa Kingdom and from the place-names of the Karnali region.

I. The governmental posts of the Khaśa Kingdom which are taken as the family surnames :

Adhikārī	—	The officer of the Darā
Kārkī	—	An officer.
Bhaṇḍārī	—	Treasurer
Lekhaka	—	Writer
Mahatārā	—	Village Headman
Rokāyā	—	Associate of the Mahatārā
Thāpā	—	*Paikelā* (warrior)
Khaḍgā	—	Do
Rānā	—	Do
Buḍhā	—	Do

I. Family surnames derived from the place-names of the Karnali region :

Districts	*Village*	*Family Surnames*
Jumla	Dhitā	Dhitāl
,,	Pāṇḍusera	Pāṇḍe

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Jumla	Siñjā	Sijāpati
,,	Chadilāgāuñ	Chaulāgāiñ
,,	Suvāḍā	Subedī
,,	Niyāpānī	Neupāne
,,	Pyākurī	Pyākuryal
Achham	Timilsain	Timilseenā
,,	Devakoṭ	Devakoṭā
,,	Dhuṅgānī	Dhuṅgānā
,,	Ghimiryā	Ghimire
,,	Ḍhāñku	Ḍhaākāl
,,	Vajgāuñ	Vajgāiñ
,,	Rimā	Rimāl
,,	Svāñrā	Svāñr
,,	Ghoḍāsain	Ghoḍāsainī
,,	Puḍāsain	Puḍāsaini
,,	Dhamālī	Dhamālā
,,	Darnā	Darnāl
,,	Kuikā	Kuikyāl
,,	Chālsā	Chālise
Bajhang	Regam	Regmī
,,	Sota	Sotī
,,	Khār	Kharel
Bajura	Jamakaṭṭī	Jamarkaṭṭel
,,	Chhātī	Chhatyāl
,,	Kunḍī	Kunḍyāl
Baitādi	Gājarai	Gajuryāl
Doti	Ḍoṭekholā	Ḍoṭel
,,	Khatyāḍī	Khativaḍā
,,	Nirauli	Niraulā
,,	Ojhānā	Ojhā
,,	Kāñḍā	Kañḍel
,,	Bogaṭān	Bogaṭī
Mugu	Khanāyā	Khanāl
Rukum	Gotām	Gotāme, Gautam
,,	Sāpakoṭ	Sāpakoṭā
Dailekh	Lāmāchhānnī	Lāmichhāne
,,	Bāñskoṭ	Bāñskoṭā

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Dailekh	Bāñstolī	Bāñstolā
,,	Sātalā	Satyāl
,,	Luyāñṭī	Luiṭel
,,	Vastākoṭ	Vastākoṭī
,,	Chāpāgāuñ	Chāpāgāiñ
,,	Nepā	Nepāl
,,	Riju	Rijāl
,,	Pokhar	Pokharel
,,	Laṁsu	Laṁsāl
,,	Lamjī	Lamjel
,,	Daha	Dhahāl
,,	Koirāli	Koirālā
,,	Davāḍā	Davāḍī
,,	Gaihra	Gaihre
,,	Bhūrtī	Bhūrtel
,,	Parājul	Parājulī
,,	Kaṭṭi	Kaṭṭel
,,	Bhuṣākoṭ	Bhuṣāl

These are few examples. Hundreds of family surnames seem to have been derived from the names of the villages of the Karnali region. The Karnali region was the main cultural centre of the Pahāḍī caste groups. People of the Pahāḍī caste groups were distributed mainly from the Karnali region throughout the kingdom of Nepal.

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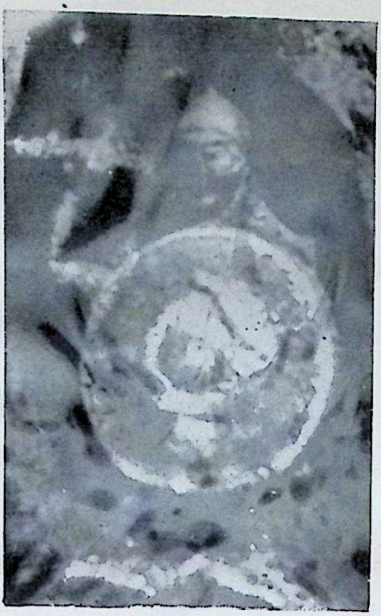

Fig. 2

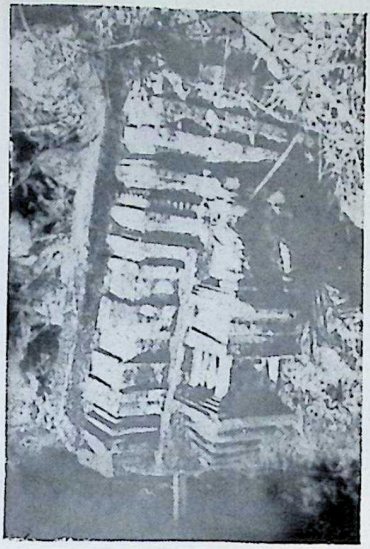

Fig. 3

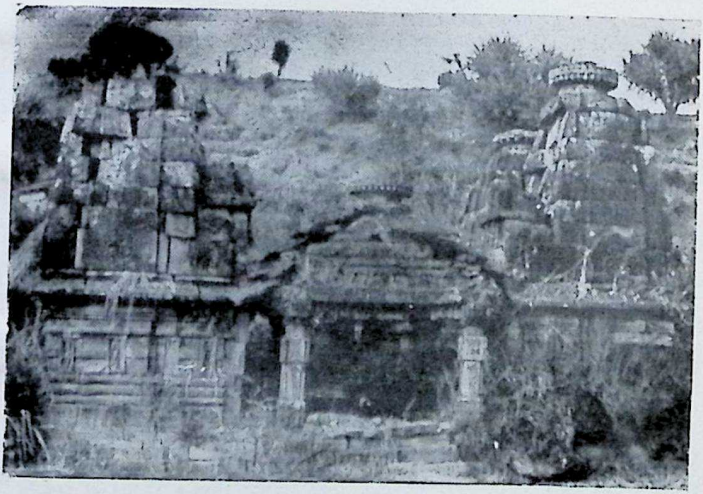

Fig. 4

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Fig. 5

Fig. 6

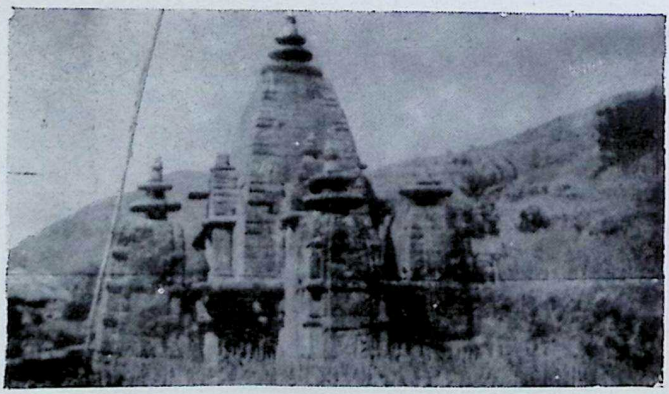

Fig. 7

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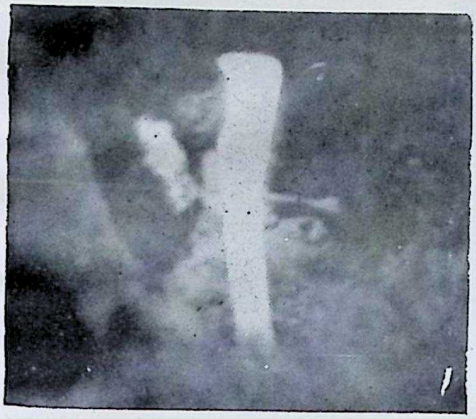

Fig. 7 (b)

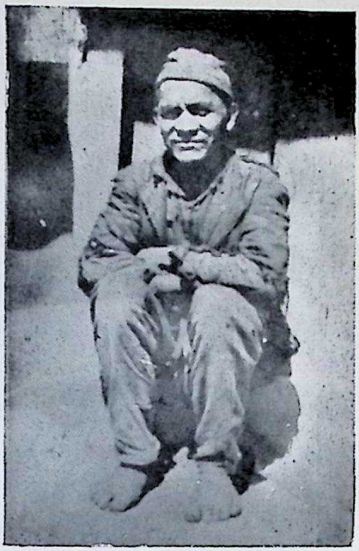

Fig. 8

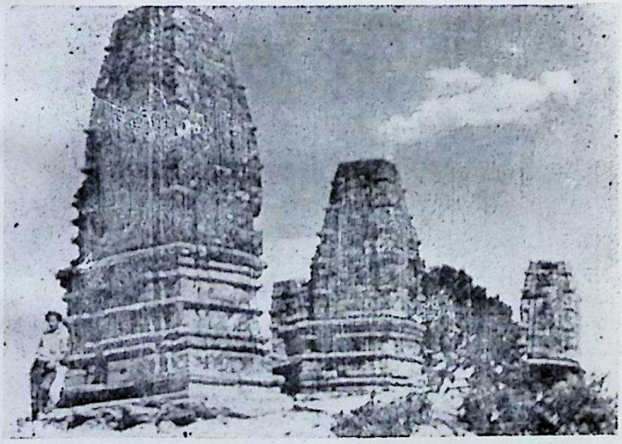

Fig. 9

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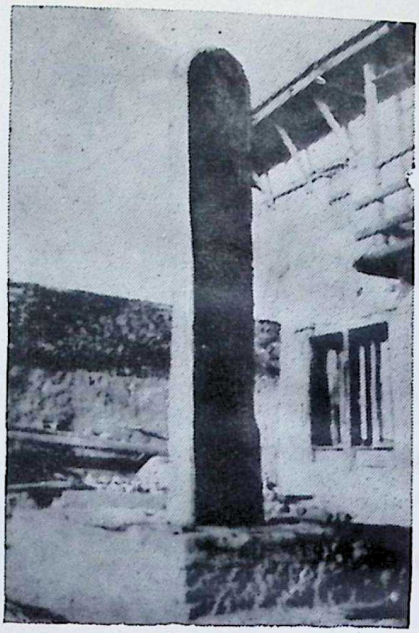
Fig. 10



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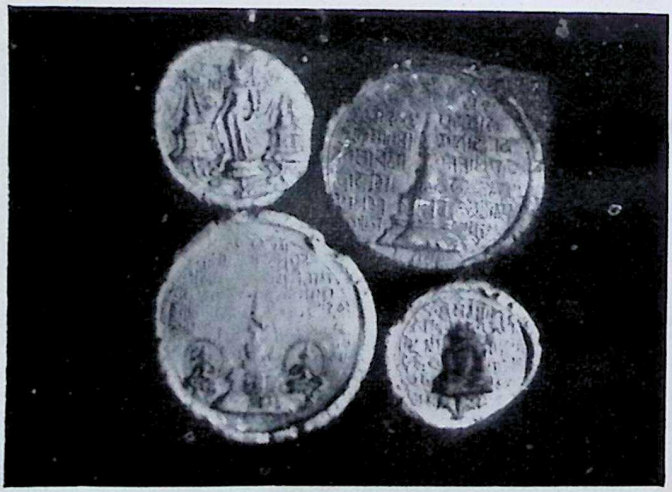

Fig 12

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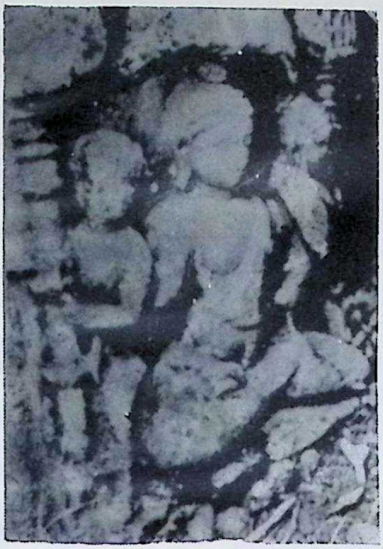
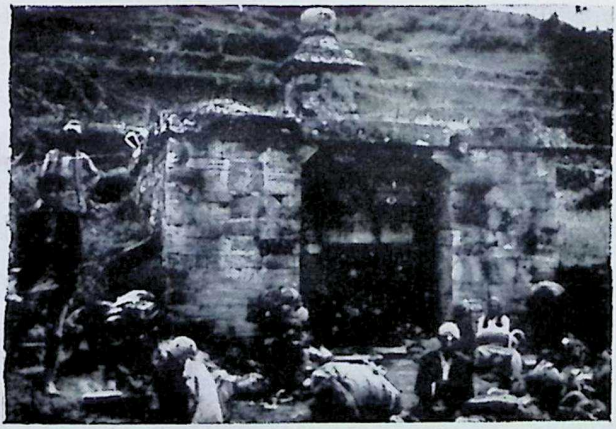


Fig. 13

Fig. 14



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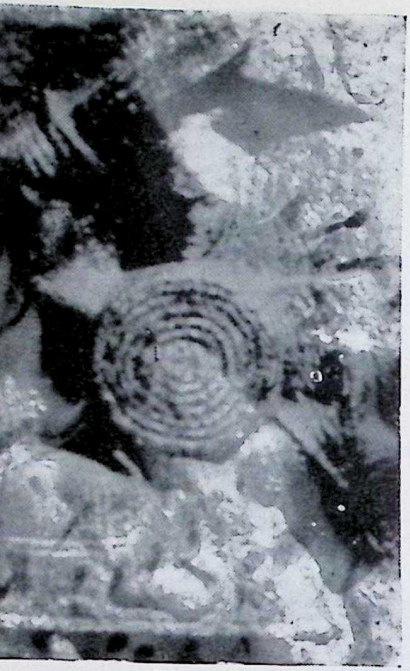

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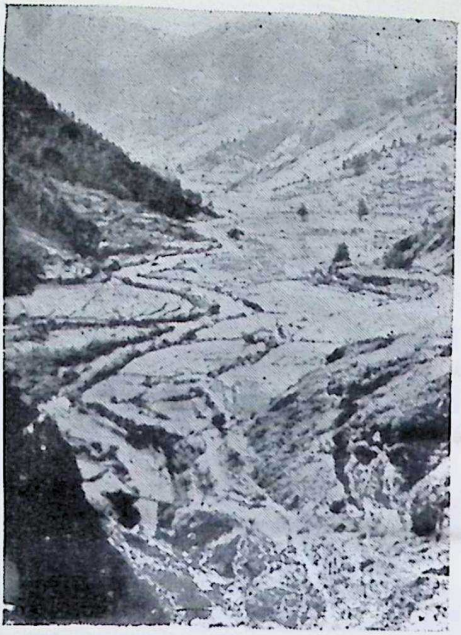

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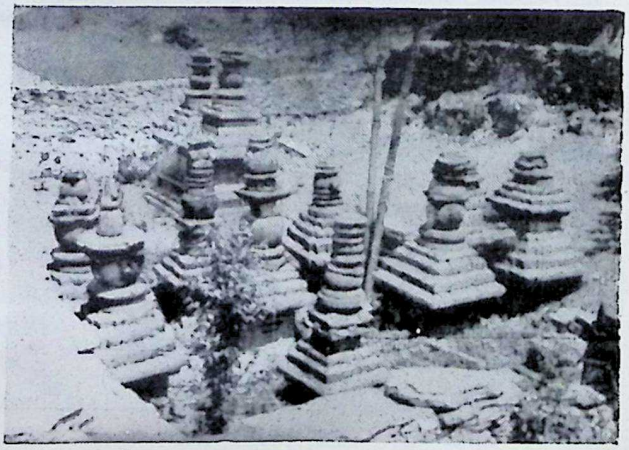

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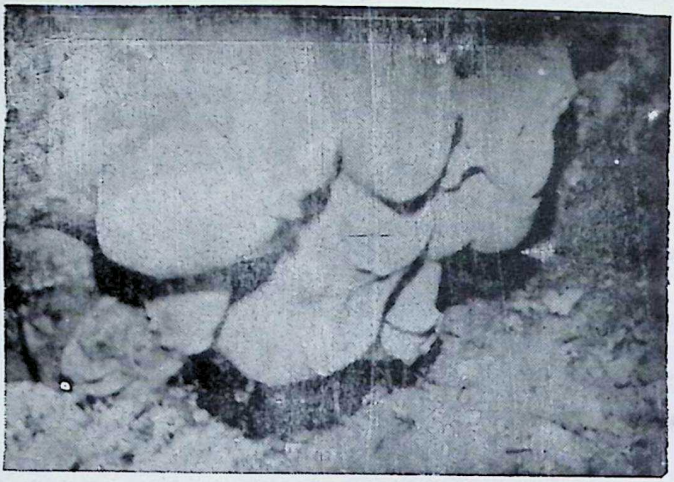

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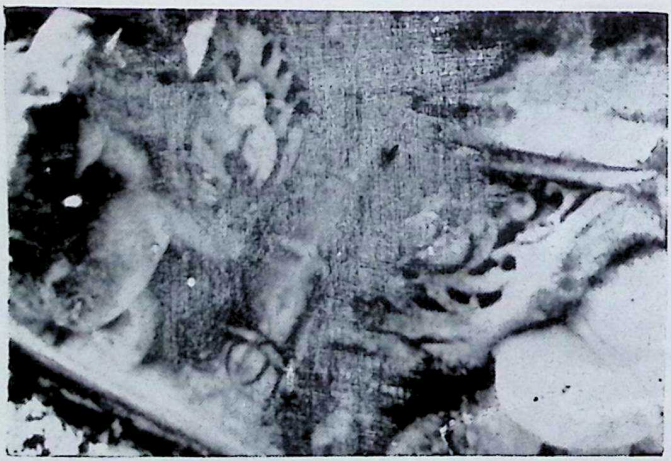

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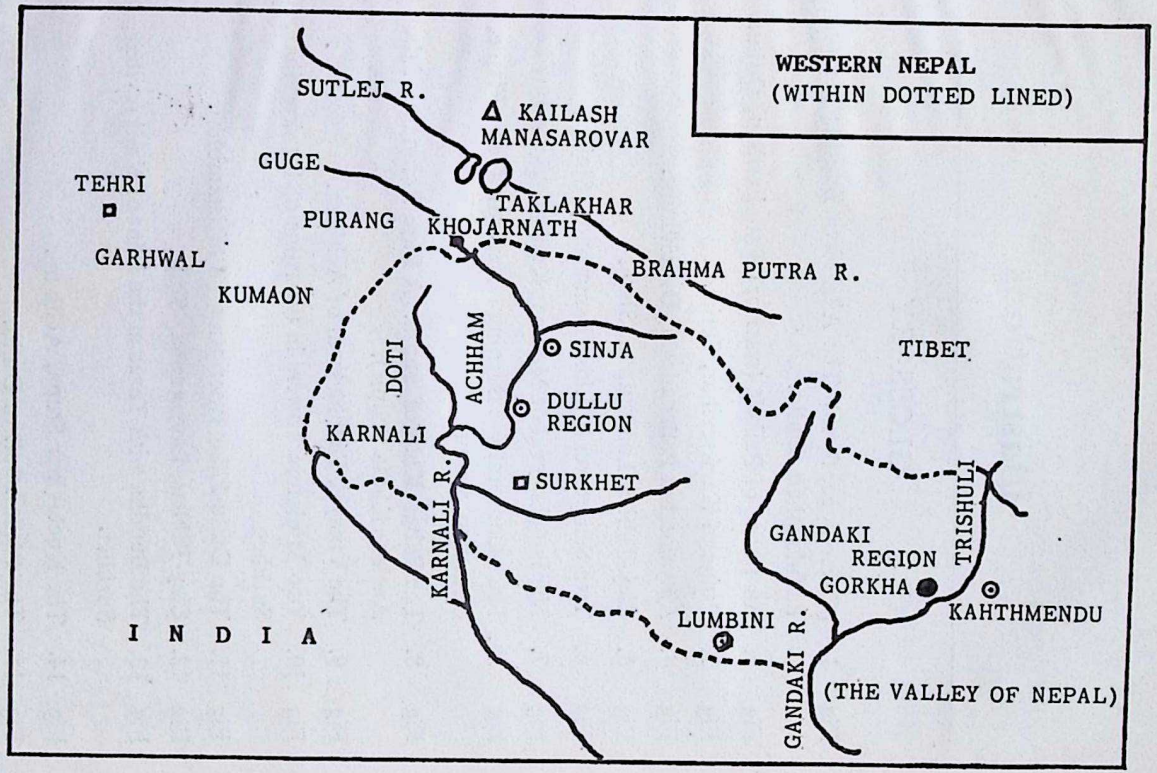

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GLOSSARY

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The Akṣobhya Buddha Image, Padukasthan, Dullu

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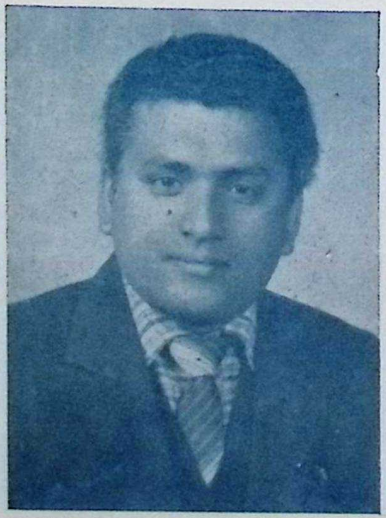

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